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Aleppo University Palestine Archaeological Centre



Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine

(Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Palestine Antiquities)

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Editorial Note

This is the Third Volume of the proceedings of the first symposium on Palestine Antiquities which was held in 1981 at Aleppo University, Papers included in this Volume were published consecutively on their arrivals.

We should like to express our apologies for the delay and our thanks for those who offered facilities in accomplishing this work especially, Prof. Dr. Mohyi ed - Edeen Sabir, Director – General of ALECSO, Prof. Dr. Muhammed Ali Huriyyah, Rector of Aleppo University, Prof. Dr. Daniel Snell who helped in revising the papers before their publishing and for the Staff of Aleppo University Press.

Dr. Shawqi Shaath
Director of
Palestine Archaeologial Center
Damascus, May 1988

Contente

Michael C. Astour
Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville.

THE ORIGIN OF THE SAMARITANS

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

Who were the Samaritans ?

The Samaritans were one of the eight ethnic groups which formed the population of Palestine in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the other seven being the Phoenicians, Hellenized Philistines, descendants of Greco–Macedonian military settlers, Jews of Galilee, Jews of Judea[1], Idumeans, and Nabateans. Their name was derived from the central Palestinian province of Samaria which had been established after the fall of the last remainder of the Kingdom of Israel in 722 and was renamed, following the Assyrian practice, after its capital city. They retained that name even after their loss of the city of Samaria at the time of Alexander the Great and the transfer of their capital to Shechem[2]. The religion of the Samaritan community represented one of the several varieties of ancient Judaism and was recognized as such in the Talmud[3], but a series of political, territorial, and sectarian conflicts between the Jews and the Samaritans caused a deepening alienation and open hostility between the two neighboring groups. The story of the Jewish-Samaritan antagonism remains outside the scope of this paper[4], but its existence must be kept in mind when one turns to the controversial subject of the origin and ethnic composition of the early Samaritan community.

At a certain stage, some four hundred years or more after the Assyrian conquest of Samaria,[5] a Jewish faction connected with the clergy of the Jerusalem Temple came up with the allegation that the Samaritans were not an indigenous element of the population of Palestine but total aliens, a mixed multitude of idolatrous peoples whom the Assyrians had transplanted to Samaria in order to replace its entirely exiled Israelite population, and who later half-heartedly adopted the worship of Yahweh. The Hebrew Bible contains three separate and contradictory reports to that effect: a longer story, II Kings 17:24–41, and two short references, Ezra 4:2 and 4:9–10. The Samaritans indignantly rejected this allegation and claimed to be pure and direct descendants of the Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.[6] As a matter of fact,

neither the Samaritans nor the Jews had any historical memories about the events of the Assyrian period. Most of the modern authors who deal with the story of Samaritan origins in II Kings 17 note its biased character but believe nevertheless that it contains genuine historical information;[7] and rather than recognizing that the three biblical versions in question are mutually exclusive and negate each other's trustworthiness, they treat them as complementary and create a picture of three consecutive resettlements of foreign populations in Samaria.[8]

One of the basic rules of historical research is to rely, in the first place, on sources that are contemporary with the events which we intend to elucidate. Such sources are available for our subject: they are the Assyrian royal inscriptions of the Sargonid period. In piecing together and interpreting them, we must not be influenced by the much later biblical versions. On the contrary, the biblical reports must be critically examined in the light of the Assyrian primary sources, as well as on the basis of their own internal evidence. This will not be a short nor an easy road; there will be many digressions and excursuses into the fields of history, geography, textual criticism, onomastica, and terminology, some of which may be of interest on their own account but which will all contribute to the clarification and solution of the problem under consideration.

The Story of II Kings 17:24–41.

The first part of II Kings 17 deals with the fall of the Kindom of Israel and concludes (v. 6) with the statement: « In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria captured Samaria, and he carried the Israelites away to Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes.» This is followed by a lengthy moralizing discourse by the Deuteronomist compiler of the Books of Kings (vv. 7–23) which explains the tragic end of the kingdom by the persistent sins of its inhabitants against Yahweh their God–as he keeps repeating throughout the book. The final part of the chapter (vv. 24–41) is the one that concerns us most. It includes repetitions and signs of editing, which do not however significantly modify its basic attitude.[9] Here is its story: (24) And the king of Assyria brought people from Babylon, Cutha, Avva, Hamath, and Sepharvaim, and placed them in the cities of Samaria instead of the people of Israel; and they took possession of Samaria, and dwelt in its cities. (25) And at the beginning of their dwelling there, they did not fear Yahweh; therefore Yahweh sent lions among them, which killed some of them. Upon hearing of it, the king of Assyria ordered that one of the deported priests be sent back so that he may« teach them the law of the god of the land.» The repatriated priest « dwelt in Bethel and taught them how they should fear Yahweh» (27–28).

However, continues the story, « (29) every nation made gods of its own, and put them in the shrines of the high places which the Samaritans had made. (30) The men of Babylon made Succoth-benoth, the men of Cuth[10] made Nergal, the men of Hamath made Ashima, (31) and the Avvites made Nibhaz and Tartak; and the Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech, the gods[11] of Sepharvaim .... (33) They feared Yahweh and they served their own gods after the manner of the nations from among whom they had been carried away. (34 a) To this day they do according to the former manner. »[12]

H.H. Rowley has convincingly demonstrated « the complete unfairness of this story of the Samaritans » in the light of what is known of the actual Samaritan religion as early as the Babylonian, Persian, Hellenistic periods. But he also noted that nevertheless, the story is still frequently believed to contain genuine information on the origin of the Samaritan community.[13] Leaving aside the religious aspect, we shall submit the story of II Kings 17:24–34a to the standard process of verification, as this is done with any piece of potential historical evidence,[14] posing the usual questions:

1. At what time, approximately, was it written?
2. Could its author have had access to primary sources?
3. Where did he find the names of the transplanted peoples and their gods?
4. Are they genuine?
5. Can the story be regarded as reliable ?

We notice, first of all, that II Kings 17:24–34a stands in a sharp contrast with the immediately preceding Deuteronomistic epitome of Israel's sins (vv. 7–23). According to it, and in agreement with the Deuteronomist's general philosophy of history, apostasy from Yahweh, worship of alien gods, and sacrifices of children prevailed in the Kingdom of Israel during the entire time of its independence. Our story, on the contrary, ascribes the introduction of these abominations into Samaria to the transplanted peoples. The Deuteronomist regarded the priests of the Kingdom of Israel as illegitimate,[15] while according to our story a repatriated Israelite priest taught the new settlers « how they should fear Yahweh »: in other words, the pre-exilic priests of the northern kingdom (and, by implication, its people) practiced the true religion of Yahweh. For the Deuteronomist, the most hated site in Israel was Bethel, the principal rival of the temple of Jerusalem:[16] our story, conversely, chose Bethel, of all places, as the center where « fear of Yahweh » was taught. It must, therefore, have been inserted into the Book of Kings well after its edition by the exilic Deuteronomist redactors about 550, or perhaps even 500, B.C.[17]

But our story also differs in its conception of Samaritan origins from that of the Priestly Code which was composed later than the work of the Deuteronomist–perhaps only in the early fourth century B.C.[18] To this source are attributed the chapters of the Book of Joshua about the allotment of Canaan to the Israelite tribes. Strange omissions occur in chapters 16–17 which describe the territories of Ephraim and Manasseh: most of the borders and all the cities of Ephraim are missing, as well as all the cities of Manasseh. J. Wellhausen surmised, long ago, that these lacunae were due to intentional deletions by a fanatic anti–Samaritan redactor;[19] but such a bias would be quite congenial to the priestly source itself which represented the theocratic hierarchy of Jerusalem. The priestly author or redactor had no doubts that the Samaritans descended from the old tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh; he retrospectively transferred his dislike of the Samaritans to their remote Israelite ancestors. But by the time of our author, the relations between the Jewish and the Samaritan communities have deteriorated to such a degree that he was no longer willing to consider the Samaritans as his wayward cousins: no, he had to depict them as total strangers with no roots in the country, a casual assemblage of fragments of unrelated nations. Now this is also the view of the Chronicler who composed his historiographic work (I and II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) about 250 or even as late as 190 B. C.[20] It contains two statements to this effect, which (as we shall see) contradict each other and II Kings 17:24–34a in their concrete details but express the same allegation (Ezra 4:1–3 and 9–10). It is also echoed by the Jerusalemite scribe Ben–Sira whose didactic book (often referred to as Ecclesiasticus) was written about 190 B. C.:

(50:25) For two nations does my soul feel abhorrence and (for) a third, which is not a people:

(26) The inhabitants of Mount Seir[21] and Philistia, and that foolish nation that dwells in Shechem.

The story of II Kings 17:24–34a (with its extension, ib.: 34b–41) should also be assigned to the same period, a few decades before or after 200 B.C. It is highly improbable that at that time, five hundred years or more after the Assyrian conquest of Samaria, anybody would have genuine knowledge of facts that remained unknown to authors who were much closer to them–Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Deuteronomist historiographer. At any rate, attempts to discern in the Chronicles some allegedly independent ancient traditions from the royal period are unfounded, and J. Wellhausen's terse formula: « Chronicles had no other sources for the period before the exile than the historical books preserved to us in the Canon,»[22] and C. C. Torrey's conclusion that the material in Chronicles not derived from the books of Samuel and Kings « was all freely

composed by the Chronicler himself, in pursuit of his apologetic aims,»[23] remain in force. We cannot presume that the situation was different for the author of our story.

The Cities and Gods in II Kings 17:24–34a

Where, then, did our author find the names of the cities whence the ancestors of the Samaritans had allegedly been brought to Palestine, and the names of the gods they allegedly worshiped? He used two devices. First, he named two major cities of Babylonia, Babylon and Cutha, both of very ancient fame but still existing as important urban centers in the Hellenistic era[24] and belonging to the Seleucid Empire into which Palestine, too, was incorporated in 198. (Cutha, incidentally, survived Babylon by over a thousand years and continued to be known as Kūtā under the Abbasid Caliphate.[25]) Our author, though doubtless a Palestinian, must have had some information about Babylonia with its large Jewish population. His statement that the people of Cutha worshiped Nergal is correct: Cutha was indeed the principal shrine of Nergal, the god of the Nether World. But even though« Succoth–benoth,» ascribed to the displaced men of Babylon, looks in the context like a divine name, no such deity is known in Babylon or anywhere else. The interpretation of its second element as referring to Sarpanitu, the consort of Babylon's city–god Marduk, whose name was sometime written, by a play of words, ᵈNUMUN.DU–ti = ᵈ*Zer–bani–ti*' «Creatress of seed,[26]» or to the goddess Banitu, known mainly from personal names,[27] leaves unexplained the first element. The simplest solution is to take the words *sukkot–benot* in their literal meaning: « booths for girls,» i.e. quarters for sacred prostitution—a practice well attested in the ancient Near East, including Jerusalem before the reform of Josiah,[28] but so widespread in late Babylon[29] that Herodotus (I:199) erroneously thought that each Babylonian woman had to perform this duty once in her life.[30] It is not impossible that the rumor about this Babylonian custom came to our author through the intermediary of some Hellenistic source of his time.

Second, he borrowed the names of the remaining three cities and of some of their alleged gods form the narratives of II Kings 18 and 19 about the threat to Jerusalem by Sennacherib, king of Assyria, and the salvation of the city by Yahweh according to the predictions of the prophet Isaiah.[31] They follow the sober and correct story of Hezekiah's defeat by Sennacherib, his surrender, and payment of an exorbitant tribute to the Assyrian king to buy his withdrawal from the ravaged country (18:7b, 13–16)[32]. This was not good enough for the pious authors of the exilic time (sixth century) who embroidered the history of Israel and Judah in the royal period with edifying stories centered on figures of great prophets. And so two narratives were appended to the aforementioned historical passage: first, a highly idealized but still restrained story which

ignores the payment of tribute to Sennacherib and explains his retreat by a spirit Yahweh put in him, « so that he shall hear a rumor and return to his own land,» only to be assassinated there by his own sons (18:17–19:9a, 36–37); and somewhat later, a reworking of that story in a more miraculous spirit (the Assyrian army is exterminated by the angel of Yahweh) and with strong influence of the teaching of the Second Isaiah (19:10–20,32,35).[33] Both stories were evidently written in Babylonia, and while the speech of Rabshakeh in the former, and the letter of Sennacherib in the latter, are as freely composed by the respective authors as analogous speeches and letters in Herodotus, they display a good knowledge of Assyrian literary style, officialdom, geography, and some events of history.[34]

The « letter of Sennacherib,» boasting of the irresistible power of Assyria, contains the following declaration: (19:12) Have the gods of the nations delivered them, the nations which my fathers destroyed: Gozan, and Haran, and Rezeph, and the sons of Eden who were in Telassar? (13) Where is the king of Hamath, and the king of Arpad, and the king of La'ir,[35] < and the king of [36] > Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?[37] Also the « speech of the Rabshakeh» has a similar rhetorical question (18:34):[38] « Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena, and Ivvah?» As we see, three of the five alleged cities of origin of the settlers in Samaria (beside Babylon and Cutha) are contained in this enumeration: Hamath, Sepharvaim, and Avvah. (To be sure, the Masoretic text vocalizes *'iwwā* in II Kings 18:34 and 19:13 instead of *'awwah* in 17:24 and *'awwim* in 17:31; but the LXX *Aua* in 19:13 indicates the original vocalization of the name in this passage.) This list of place names merits attention not only in connection with our present topic but also from the broader angle of view of biblical and Near Eastern toponymy.

In the «letter of Sennacherib», the nations destroyed by Assyria are clearly divided into two groups according to the time of their conquest. Gozan (Ass. *Guzana*), Haran (*Harrānu*), and Rezeph (*Rasappa*) were located in northern Mesopotamia (Jezireh) and were annexed to Assyria in the ninth century. Telassar (Heb. *Tela'ssar*[39]) is the Assyrian *Til-Assuri*, a city in western Media, Media, now Luristan, which was conquered and incorporated into Assyria by Tiglath–Pileser III in 737. According to him, it was a«fortress of Babylonians» and possessed a temple of Marduk.[40] The « sons of Eden» (*bene–'Eden*) whom II Kings 19:12 places there were probably a branch of the Aramean tribe of Bit–Adini in Babylonia.[41] This assumption is corroborated by two bronze vessels with Aramaic inscriptions from the middle and the end of the eighth century that were found in tombs in Luristan.[42]

The second group (v. 13) lists conquests that took place within the last

twenty years before Sennacherib's invasion of Judah. Hamath, whose king Ilu-bi'di (also known as Yau-bi'di) headed the general Syrian revolt against Assyria in 721, was subdued and annexed by Sargon II the following year. Arpad, first conqured by Tiglathpileser III in 740, joined the revolt of 721 and shared the fate of Hamath. It has repeatedly been suspected that *laᶜir* which precedes « Sepharvaim» in 19:13 does not mean «of the city» (an awkward construction) but representes a toponym.[43] A. Sarsowsky proposed, as early as 1912, to identify Laᶜir with Lahiru, a city to the northeast of Babylonia, which is known from numerous Neo-Assyrian records.[44] This assumption has been fully confirmed by an Aramaic letter from the fifth century B. C. which enumerates certain cities on the road from the Persian capital, Susa, to Egypt via Arbela and Damascus.[45] The name of the city that stands second in the enumeration is spelled *Laᶜr*, and this, as recognized by the publisher, G.R. Driver, corresponds both to the biblical Laᶜir and the Assyrian Lahiru.[47] From the evidence of the Assyrian records which mention it Lahiru seems to have been located on the upper Diyālā River, near mod. Saᶜdīyah.[48] Because of its strategic location, it was frequently overrun by Assyrian kings of the ninth and eighth centuries,[49] till Sargon II annexed it to his empire in 709,[50] after which it became a provincial capital.

This survey clearly indicates (a) that the list of Assyrian conquests in the « letter of Sennacherib » is based on genuine acquaintance with the subject; (b) that all its entries were independent political entities prior to their absorption by Assyria and remainded provincial capitals thereafter; (c) that the identificable places at the end of the list — Hamath, Arpad, and Laᶜir — were annexed by Sargon II between 720 and 709. We may therefore be reasonably sure that these conclusions are also valid for the last item, the mysterious Sepharvaim.

« Sepharvaim, Hena, and Iwah»

Seen in this light, all previously advanced identifications of Sepharvaim prove to be untenable.

(a) The oldest and onomastically the least objectionable identification is with the famous city of Sippar in northern Babylonia.[51] This requires the emendation of the ending -*wayim* into -*ayyim*,[52] the resulting form presumed to mean «the two Sippars.» There existed indeed, at the time of Tiglath-Pileser I, two Sippars at a short distance from one another: Sippar of Shamash and Sippar of Anunitu.[53] But Sippar has never been an independent state and had no king; it was an integral part of the Kingdom of Babylonia. And it could not possibly be counted among« the nations which my fathers (Sennacherib's predecessors) destroyed.» Sargon II, whose Babylonian policy was based on an alliance with the priesthood and the patriciate of the great cities of Babylonia,

boasts on the contrary that after defeating the Chaldean Marduk-apal-iddina II (Merodach-Baladan) he «liberated» Sippar, restored its borders and returned to it its traditional privileges.[54]

(b) Nor can Sepharvaim be equated with URU *Ša-ba-ra-ʾ-in* (assuming that the second sign of the name is *ba* and not *ma*) which, according to the Babylonian Chronicle, was ravaged by Shalmaneser V.[55] In the first place, there is no sufficient phonetic agrement between the two names, especially in the initial sibilants: the cuneiform text in question was written in the Babylonian dialect, in which written š was pronounced /š/, not /s/ as in Assyrian. In the second place, since the signs *ba* and *ma* are indistinguishable in the Babylonian script, the toponym should rather be read URU*Ša-ma-ra'-i-in*, which is a good cuneiform rendering of an attested Aramaic name of Samaria — *Šmryn* in the Elephantine papyri, *Šamᵉrāyin* in Ezra 4:10.[56] Indeed Samaria fell in the last, incomplete year of Shalmaneser V's reign, and it is more appropriate for a chronicle to record, as the only notable feat of that king's five years on the throne, the capture of a large, strongly fortified and courageously resisting royal capital than of an otherwise fully unknown place.

(c) Sepharvaim was also identified with Sibraim in Ezek. 47:16 (and the latter — with the supposed Shabara'in) by J. Halevy,[57] and this suggestion still enjoys quite a wide following in the literature.[58] Leaving aside the unexplainable change of the labial, the equation with Sibraim must be rejected on the ground of political geography. Sibraim, mentioned only in the description of the northern border of the ideal future land of Israel and so far not located on the ground, is defined as lying between the territory of Damascus and the territory of Hamath,[59] i. e., on the border between these two regions, former kingdoms, which were adjacent to each other. It belonged to one of them (more probably to Damascus, cf. Ezek. 48:1) and could not be considered a separate political entity (« nation»).

(d) More satisfying is A. Sarsowsky's suggestion[60] to see in Sepharvaim (re-vocalized* *Suphruyim*) the kingdom of Šubria (or Šupria) in western Armenia. In this case, the *s* in the Hebrew name could be explained as rendering Assyrian pronunciation of *s*. The difficulty is that Šubria was only conquered by Assyria in 673, under Esarhaddon,[61] and does not fit in an enumeration of nations said to have been crushed by Sennacherib's predessors (as they indeed were).

We must look in the Assyrian records for a state that was conquered by the Assyrians at the end of the eighth century and carried a name that would be as close as possible to SPRWYM, requiring at most minor and palaeogra-

phically justifiable emendation in the transmitted Hebrew form for complete agreement. Now in the Aramaic script, adopted by the Jews during the Achaemenid period for writing both Aramaic and Hebrew, the letters *d* and *r* were identical in shape and were often confused.[62] There are also cases of confusion of both *d* and *r* with *w*, e.g. HWY (*hiwwi*) instead of HRY (*hori*) Gen. 36:2; LXX read *HRY* (*Chorraios*) instead of HWY Gen. 34:2; Josh. 9:7; Nᶜ RT («girls») instead of NᶜWT («perverse») I Sam. 20–30; ᵓŠWR («Assyria,» most likely the correct reading) instead of ᵓŠDD («Ashdod») Amos 3:9; NSRK (divine name «Nisroch») in II Kings 19:37 is a scribal error for *NSWK to be read **Nasuk* = Ass.–Babyl. Nusku. If we assume that the *w* in SPRWYM stands for an original *d*, we obtain *SPRDYM (**s*ᵉ*phardim*), or inhabitants of the land of Sepharad, known to Obadiah 20 as one of the deportation areas of the Israelites,[63] which corresponds to the land of Saparda of the Neo-Assyrian records.[64]

Saparda was located in Media, east of the main range of the Zagros and apparently north of the road Kermanshah—Hamadan.[65] Sargon II, in 716, captured the city of Harhar (near the Qara-su River), made it the capital of a new Assyrian province, settled there deportees from Hatti (Syria–Palestine), and added to it six other newly conquered districts, including Saparda. The very next year the whole region revolted and had to be subdued anew.[66] A lenghty account of Sargon II's campaign in the Zagros in 714 mentions Dari of Saparda among the chieftains of Media who paid tribute.[67] After 700, Saparda may have been detached from Harhar as a separate province.[68] At any rate, when the easternmost areas of the Assyrian Empire revolted and irretrievably seceded, the Sapardians were important enought to be listed by Esarhaddon as members in their own right of an anti-Assyrian coalition along with the Cimmerians, Medes, and Manneans.[69]

We see thus that, with an emendation of just one letter (of which there are several other examples in the text of the Old Testament), we have obtained a real, documentarily attested geographical name, which fits perfectly into the historical, political, and chronological frame of the «letter of Sennacherib,» and must have been known to its sixth-century author—as it was known to his contemporary, Obadiah—as a place where there still lived descendants of Israelite deportees.[70]

But what about« Hena and Ivvah» that are appended to« Sepharvaim» in the transmitted text? The Targum and Symmachus understood them not as proper names but as Hebrew verbal forms,[71] which have, however, no syntactic or logical connection with the preceding words. In modern scholarship, little thought was given to locating Hena, and as for Ivvah (Avvah of II Kings 17:31), the only serious suggestion about it was to equate it with Awan, one

of the three kingdoms of early Elam; it was believed to be supported by the allegedly Elamite names of the gods brought along by the Avvites.[72] Unfortunately, the kingdom of Awan suddenly perished around 2200, when Shar-kali-sharri was king of Akkad, and the city of Awan is mentioned for the last time in history under Ibbi-Sin, king of Ur, around 1880.[73] We suggest that the alleged cities of « Hena and Ivvah» have never existed and that their occurrence in II Kings 19:13 (=Isa. 37:19) is a misunderstanding caused by dittography. Instead of HNʿWʿWH there originally stood HNʿWH, i.e. *han-naʿaweh* « the perverse,»[74] as an epithet of the king of the Sapardians, quite in the style of the Assyrian royal inscriptions.[75] The erroneous reduplication of the ayin made the resulting HNʿʿWH unintellible, which led to its division into HNʿ and ʿWH, seen as place names and joined by the conjunction *wᵉ*.

What follows from this analysis for our understanding of the story of Samaritan origin in II Kings 17:24-34a ?

(a) Its author had no other source on Assyria and its conquest in the period that interested him except the Bible itself, principally the narratives of II Kings 18 and 19 which deal not with the fall of Samaria and its aftermath but with the siege of Jerusalem twenty years later.

(b) He utilized these chapters, and in particular 19:12-13, at a rather late stage of their textual history, with *sᵉphardim* already misspelled *sᵉpharwayim* and *han-naʿaweh* misinterpreted *hena wᵉ- ʿiwwa* (or *ʿawwā*). [76]. It is thence that he borrowed the names for three of his five cities: the correct Hamath, the already distorted Sepharvaim, and the non-existent Avvah.

(c) His story is, therefore, a free composition without any historical value whatsoever.

The Gods of Hamath, Avvah, and Sepharvaim

This also goes for the alleged gods of those three cities. The name of Ashima (ʾâšîmāʾ), the deity of the Hamathites, seems to have an authentic ring: one of the gods of the Jewish colony in Elephantine, in the fifth century B.C., was called' *šm* or '*šm-btl.*[77] Knowing, however, our author's style of work, we should have serious doubts that he actually delved into the religious practices of the inhabitants of Hamath. It is more likely that he borrowed the name from a passage in Amos (8:14) denouncing« those who swear by the Guilt of Samaria *ʾasᵉmat Šomron.* It is irrelevant for our present purpose whether the expression *'ašᵉmat Šomron* preserves the original reading and refers to a deity Ashima,[78] or is a pejorative editorial alteration of **'Ašerat Šomron*«Ashera of Samaria.»[79] Our author knew it already in its present form and found *'ašᵉmat*

quite appropriate for his story because of its association with Samaria and its opprobrious meaning. (Incidentally, the name is spelled Asimath in the LXX version of II Kings 17:30).

The gods of the Avvites, Nibhaz and Tartak, are a longstanding puzzle for the commentators. One school of thought[80] sees in them deliberately distorted names of Aramean deities. Nibhaz would be the divinized altar[81] via the following chain of transmutations: *nbhz* < *mbhz* < *mzbh*, which is the Hebrew cognate of Aramaic *mdbh*; and Tartak would be the great Syrian goddess Atargatis: *trtq*<*trqt*<^{c}*trqth*. These etymologies demand too much stretching of our imagination. Intentional changes of pagan divine names do occur in the Hebrew Bible, but they never affect more than one letter: Abed Nego (Dan. 1:7) for Abed Nebo; Baal Zebub (II Kings 1:2f.) for Baal Zebul; possibly, as mentioned above, *'aše mat* for *'ašerat* (Amos 8:14). Moreover, the alleged Aramaic spelling *trqth* does not exist; the numerous epigraphic occurrences of Atargatis in various Aramaic dialects are spelled ^{c}*tr*^{c} *th* or, less frequently, *'tr*^{c} *th*.

Another group of scholars—those who, as we have seen,[82] place Avvah in Elam—identify Nibhaz and Tartak with the third and fourth entries in an enumeration of Elamite gods which forms part of the great Babylonian god list *An = Anum*.[83] These entries are: nap *Ib–na–ha–za* = ^{d}E–(a), and nap *Dak–da–ad–ra* = ^{d}*EN . (ZU)*.[84] In a preceding section, however, nap *Ib–na–ha–*(..), nap *Ib–na–sá–sá* (or *Ib–na–di–di*), and nap *Dah–se–es–ra* figure among seven Elamite demons. While the similarity between *Dakdadra* and *Tartāq* is remote at best, *Ibnahaza* does resemble *Nibhaz* (with a metathesis of the first two consonants). But one must recall (a) that the pretended identity of Avvah with Awan in Elam is historically impossible; (b) that *Ibnahaza* and *Dakdadra* appear only in a Babylonian scholarly composition and are unknown in the actual Elamite pantheon; and (c) that the very presence of *Nibhaz* in the Masoretic text is suspect, for all codices of LXX have instead the unrelated *Eblazer*, *Ablazer*, or *Eblaizer*.[85]

This is obviously not a divine name but some kind of a personal one, of West Semitic or Akkadian origin.[86] How it came into the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX version of Kings remains unexplained. As for *Nibhaz*, which replaces it in the Masoretic recension, we may venture a guess. The person responsible for its introduction into II Kings 17:31 took it from a list of names of Babylonian dignitaries in Jer. 39:13. The good Akkadian name of one of them, *Nabū–Šezibanni* (« Nabu, deliver me !»), had been falsely divided in the Masoretic text thus: *N*^{e}*būšaz–bān*. The first element of that name, NBŠZ, with an arbitrary change of one of its letters, š, into H (a device referred to earlier), was then utilized by some editor as a god of the Avvites. A similar method may be surmised for the creation of the other god of that people, Tartak, except

that the presence of his name in all recensions of the LXX points to the author of the story himself as its creator. He again had recourse to his principal source of inspiration, the Sennacherib narratives. He took the Assyrian title *tartān* (commander–in–chief) from II Kings 18:17, disguised it by replacing its last letter by a *q*, and used the resulting *Tartāq* as a divine name.[87]

« And the Sepharvites burned their children in the fire to Adrammelech and Anammelech the gods of Sepharvaim.» This verse gave an unusually strong impulse to speculations in the field of Semitic religon and ritual. Instead of approaching the story to which this verse belongs as a piece of writing of uncertain age and dubious reliability, no detail of which should be taken on trust without the support of authentic documents, the genuinness of those two deities was taken for granted, and they were made part and parcel of our corpus of evidence on Semitic polytheism. The complicated and convoluted discussion of that problem by biblical commentators and historians of religion must remain beyond the frame of reference of this study; it concerns us here only inasmuch as it may contribute to the verification of the story of II Kings 17: 24–34a. Briefly, most of the scholars who wrote on the « gods of Sepharvaim»[88] emended the first name, 'DRMLK,to ᵓDDMLK (which is, of course, palaeographically permissible), and interpreted the latter as **Adad–melek*« Adad the King, »supposed to be « a form of the Syrian god Hadad.»[89] The task then became to find this particular form in the real world. So attempts were made to read in the alleged divine name *Adad–milki* into certain Neo–Assyrian theophoric names, or to obtain its ideographic spelling by breaking in two the ideogram for Sin (the Moon–god) in some Neo–Assyrian legal documents.[90] These attempts, which contradict the basic rules of Akkadian onomastics, have been proved illusory.[91] (We shall return to Anammelech presently.)

The origin of Adrammelech must be considered from a different angle. The very same name occurs in the historical notice, II Kings 19:36–37, which originally concluded the first of the two narratives about Hezekiah and Sennacherib:« (36) Then Sennacherib king of Assyria departed, and went home, and dwelt in Nineveh. (37) And as he was worshiping in the house of Nisroch his god, Adrammelech and Sharezer, his sons, slew him with the sword, and escaped into the land of Ararat. And Esarhaddon his son reigned in his stead.» The notice is basically correct: in 681 Sennacherib was murdered by some of his sons, who were in turn defeated by the heir designate, Esarhaddon.[92] It has long been surmised that Sennacherib's son, whose name is written Arad (IR) – ^{d}*NIN.LIL*, was the murderer, and that his name somehow corresponded to *'Adrammelek* (to be read *'Ardamelek*) and to *Adramelos* in a fragment of Berossus preserved by Eusebius who used the compilation of Abydenus. S. Parpola recently adduced strong inscriptional and onomastic evidence that

the prince in question was the chief perpetrator of the murder and that the the actual pronunciation of his name was *Arda-Mulišši*; he noted that « it is not difficult to imagine a scribe correcting a seemingly nonsensical « meles » to «melek», a frequent final element in North-West Semitic personal names.»[93] Now it would be little short of a miracle if the occurrence of the same name, spelled exactly the same way, in two different passages of II Kings, designating in one of them a historically attested Assyrian prince, and in the other, an otherwise unknown deity, was due to simple coincidence. On the contrary, knowing how much the author of II Kings 17:24–34a depended on the Sennacherib narratives of II Kings 18 and 19, we can be sure that the alleged god Adrammelech found his way into the anti-Samaritan story from the same source.

What about his divine colleague, Anammelech ? His name was believed to signify «'Anu (the Babylonian sky-god) is King.»[94] or «Anath (a West Semitic goddess), consort of the Divine King (Hadad). » Both hypotheses face serious linguistic difficulties, and even W.F. Albright and K. Deller had to admit that the name has not been found outside its biblical occurrence.[95] But we cannot even be sure that it stood in the original text of II Kings 17:31. As noted by R. Kittel in *Biblia Hebraica*, ad loc., the name is omitted in the Lagardian recension of LXX and is perhaps a gloss. This possibility seems to be corroboreted by the *k^etib ᵓlh*, i.e., *'eloah* « gods », which may indicate that originally only Adrammelech was listed as the god of Sepharvaim. In any case, Annammelech cannot be expected to be any more genuine, as a divine name, than Adrammelech.[97]

This brings to an end our examination of II Kings 17:24–34a. In the previous section, we have shown reasons for eliminating it from any consideration of ancient Near Eastern history and geography; now we believe to have done the same with regard to its applicability to the study of Semitic religions.

The Esarhaddon Version

The author of II Kings 17:24–34a did not worry about the name of the king of Assyria to whom he ascribed the resettlement of Samaria (it is only modern commentators who obligingly add that it was Sargon II). But one sees from his story that he placed its happenings a short time after the Assyrian conquest of Samaria. A very different chronology is offered by the Chronicler. In a passage which puts the Jewish-Samaritan schism as far back as the time of Zerubbabel (late sixth century), he ascribes to the Samaritans (whom he calls « the adversaries of Judah and Benjamin») the following statement (Ezra 4:2): « Let us build with you; for we worship your God as you do, and we have been sacrificing to him ever since the days of Esarhaddon king of Assyria who brought us here.» The assertion is unequivocal: there was only one transfer of popula-

tion, and it happened under Esarhaddon. It cannot be reconciled with the picture of a much earlier deportation presented by II Kings 17:24–34a. It is a completely different version; but does it have an historical foundation? The name of Esarhaddon occurs in Kings 19:37 and was well known to Jews of the Persian and Hellenistic periods: it appears in the Aramaic book of Ahikar, found in a fifth century Jewish archive at Elephantine, and in the apocryphic book of Tobit, probably composed about 200 B.C.

The annals of Esarhaddon's twelve years of reign (680–669) have survived in several successive editions. He also left numerous other inscriptions and a large epistolary archive. His reign is well documented and contains no noticeable documentary gaps. We can thus say with full confidence that no transfer of population to or from the province of Samaria, or more generally to or from Palestine, took place during Esarhaddon's reign. The only disturbance in the Syro–Palestinian region was the revolt and the destruction of Sidon. Its people were deported to Assyria, and in their stead were settled « the people, spoil of my bow, of mountain and sea of the setting sun,»[98] perhaps some of the Cilicians who were defeated at the same time.[99]

The Osnappar Version

The same chapter of the Chronicler's work (Ezra 4) contains yet a third version of Samaritan origins, with a time attribution that disagrees with either of the former two, and a different assortment of transplanted nations. It carries the form of a letter exchange between officials of the satrapy Beyond the River ('Abar–Naharā) and a king Artaxerxes of Persia, and is composed in Aramaic. This correspondence is obviously spurious.[100] In the first place, how did it get to Jerusalem from the royal or satrapal archives? How could the king confirm that he found in the archives of his predessors that « mighty kings have been over Jerusalem, who ruled over the whole Beyond the River, to whom tribute, custom, and toll were paid» (4:20), while this image is nothing more than a piece of imaginative glorification of the power of David and Solomon, characteristic of the Jewish thought of the Persian period,[101] and while no information about Palestine in the tenth century could have been contained in Persian archives?[102] Let us turn to the preamble of the first of the two fictitious letters. Its authors are given as Rehum the *b^{ccc}el–t^{ccc}em* (a title of obscure signification)[103] and Shimshai the scribe. Their place of residence is not stated. They write to the king not only in their own name but also on behalf of«the rest of their associates;» *Viz.* (9b) *dināyê' w^{e}–'aphr^{e}sat^{e}kāyê' tarp^{e} lāyê' 'apharsāyê 'ark^{e}wāyê* < ' > *babelayê šušan^{e}kāyê' d^{e}hāyê' 'el^{e}māyê'*[104] (10) and the rest of the nations whom the great and noble Osnappar deported and settled the city[105] of Samaria (*Šām^{e}rayin*) and in the rest of Beyond the River».

The nine groups enumerated in v. 9b which we cited in their originaı (transliterated) form, are divided into two categories:

(a) *dināyē' weᵉ–'aphrᵉsatᵉkāyē* «the judges and the frēstakas», the latter being a Perisan title of officials, probably «guardians of order»[106].

(b) The remainig seven entries, not joined to the preceding ones by «and,» are ethnic group, *Viz.*:

1. *Tarpᵉlayē'*.' LXX, Vulgate, and KJV translated it as an ethnic; RSV, by the vague term « officials, ». However, no such word exists in any Near Eastern language. It is an ethnic both by its position in the list and by its very name — a derivation of Greek *Tripolis*, a city in Phoenicia, *Tarābulus* in Arabic, now the second largest city of Lebanon.[107] According to Greek authors, Tripolis was a joint foundation of the three principal Phoenician cities, Tyre, Sidon, and Aradus. It is first mentioned under the year 351 as the site where representatives of those three cities met in council and decided to start an uprising against Artaxerxes III.[108] It was probably founded during the Persian period.[109]

2. *'Apharsāyē* is in all probability a prothetized variant of *parsāyē'* « Persians.»[110]

3. *'Arkᵉwāyē'* are the people of the largest city in southern Babylonia, Uruk (bibl. Erech), as is generally admitted. In Akkadian, too, a common form of the adj. fem. of *Uruk* was *Arkaitu*.

4. *Babᵉlāyē'* are, of course, the Babylonians.

5. *Šušanᵉkāyē'* are the people of Shushan (Susa). The ethnic seems to be composed with the Iranian adjectical suffix *–aka*.

6. *Dehāyē'* is punctuated as an ethnic in the Masoretic text, which was followed in the Codex Alexandrinus of LXX (*Dauaoi*). The Codex Vaticanus, on the other hand, read *dihū* « which is,» and understood the sequence of the last three words as meaning' «the men of Shushan, that is, the Elamites.» This interpretation is accepted in RSV and is favored in commentaries and dictionaries. There are, however, arguments against it: (a) the relative particle is always spelled DY and written separatley from the following word in biblical Aramaic; (b) *dī–hū'* is singular, while in the present context one should expcct plural, *di–himmô* « who are», (c) the Susians were distinguished from the Elamites in the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods, and Susiana was a separate entity from Elymais, the former lying in the north, and the latter in the south, of present–day Khuzistan;[111] (d) there existed, in fact, an Iranian people called Dāhā in Old Persian,[112] Daai or Daoi in Greek, Dahae in Latin;[113] their area

lay east of the Caspian sea, but Herodotus (I:125) lists the Daoi as a Persian tribe.

7. *ʿElᵉmāyē'* are the already mentioned Elymaioi. Altogether, the partial list (not counting « the rest of the nations») of the deportees to Samaria «and the rest of Beyond the River» consists of four peoples from Iran, two from Babylonia, and one from Syria itself (the non–Semitic ethnic *Tarpᵉlayē'* must have sounded very exotic to the compiler). The assortment is typical of the late Persian or early Hellenistic period.

And who was the «great and noble Osnappar» (thus vocalized in the Masoretic text, *Asennaphar* in most codics of LXX)? The consensus is that the name represents a much reduced form of that of Assurbanipal, the last imperial ruler of Assyria (668–627). Assurbanipal is not mentioned in the canonical or apocryphic books of the Old Testament, but he was quite popular under the name of Sardanapallus, in Greek legends of the late Persian and Hellenistic periods that must have been derived from contemporary Near Eastern folklore. He appears in these legends as an indolent, effeminate ruler, and it is curious that what they ascribe to him belongs, in actual fact, to his grandfather Sennacherib (building — or rather conquering — Tarsus and Anchiale), his brother Shamash–shum–ukin (self–inflicted fiery death), and his son Sin–shar–ishkun (fall of Nineveh to the Medes). It is from such a folklore source that the compiler borrowed the name of the paragon of Assyrian imperial power (much impaired in oral transmission).

But the historical Assurbanipal did, in fact, conduct long and fierce military campaigns in Babylonia (652–648) and in Elam (653, 646 – 639). Could not these wars have been followed by deportations of the subdued peoples to other parts of the Assyrian Empire, including Samaria? As T.H. Gaster surmised, « the introduction of Babylonians and Cutheans is more plausibly assigned to Assurbanipal than to Shalmaneser, for it may well have been an act of retribution for their share in the civil war raised by the former's rival, Shamashshumukin.»[114] It might have been, but it was not. Assurbanipal explicitly states that after the bloody conquest of the three principal centers of Babylonian resistance, « on the rest of the inhabitants of Babylon, Cutha, and Sippar, who had escaped the slaughter, carnage, and famine, I took pity and ordered their lives to be spared. I settled them in Babylon.»[115] As for Elam early in his reign, Assurbanipal resettled the people of Kirbit, a city on the Elamite–Babylonian border, in the newly conquered Egypt;[116] all other deportees from Elam, as is specified in each case, were « carried off to Assyria,»[117] i.e., Assyria proper.

And so the Osnappar version, too, must be recognized as a fantastic fabrication.

Sargon II and Samaria

What, then, is the historical truth? Contemporary records reveal that the Assyrian king who deported a certain number of the inhabitants of Saaria and settled there some members of other defeated peoples, was neitheir Shalmaneser, nor Esarhaddon, nor Assurbanipal, but a king who is totally ignored in the historical books of the Old Testament — Sargon II (721 – 705).[118] And the nationalities of the new settlers in Samaria have nothing in common with the fictitious lists of II Kings 17:24 and Ezra 4:9–10.

In his Display Inscription (composed after his fifteenth year of reign), Sargon claims outright that he « besieged and captured Samaria.[119] » But according to the Babylonian Chronicle (I:28), it was Shalmaneser V who «ravaged Samaria (URU *Sa–ma–ra–ᵓ–in ih–te–pi*)»[120] and we have no reason not to believe this independent and impartial source, while it would have been quite natural for the usurper Sargon to appropriate the last event in the reign of his deposed predecessor. The Babylonian Chronicle states (I: 29–31) that Shalmaneser died in the month of Tebet of his fifth year (December–January 722/21), and Sargon ascended the throne on the 12th of Tebet (around January 1,721).[121] The fall of Samaria should be placed in the summer or early fall of 722.[122] In the Annals (unfortunately very damaged in the relevant section) and the parallel passage of the Nimrud Prism,[123] Sargon's language is closer to the facts: « In the beginning of my reign, when I took (my) seat on the royal throne and was crowned with a lordly crown, the people of Samaria, who agreed with a hostile king not to continue their servitude and not to deliver tribute, started hostilities.»[124]

The term «the beginning of the reign» (*res sarrūti*) refers to the interval between a king's ascent of throne and the beginning of the next calendar year (the 1st of Nisan) which started his first regnal year; in Sargon's case, it was the first quarter of (Julian) year 721. Sargon alludes here, in all likelihood, not to the rebellion of the rump kingdom of Israel, incited (according to II Kings 17:4) by a king of Egypt, against Shalmaneser V three years earlier, but to the new uprising of the just subdued Samaria in alliance with the revolutionary king of Hamath (and other Syrian territories) which broke out immediately after Sargon's seizure of power.

Thus Sargon's claim was not entirely underserved: it was he who effectively finished the subjugation of Samaria, deported part of its population, brought in other settlers, and organized the conquered territory into a regular Assyrian province. According to his Annals, all this happened in his first year, but this is a conventional compression. As H. Tadmor concluded from his analysis of Sargon's inscriptions, « the primary source from which the

account of the Annals and of the Nimrud Prism were derived followed a *geographical* rather than *chronological* sequence when it connected the fall of Samaria with the Egyptian and the Arabian campaigns. This source in effect combined the events of several years in the manner of the «Display Inscription,» preferring the geographical proximity of campaigns to their true chronological order. »[125] In his first year (721), Sargon had worries nearer home than Samaria. His coup d'état triggered a series of secessions. As early as April 721, Babylonia was lost to the Chaldean prince Marduk–apaliddina II (Merodach–Baladan). Sargon was able to move against him only a year later, but was soundly defeated near Dêr by the Elamite king Humbanigash[126] and abandoned Babylonia for twelve years. He turned instead to the West, where a great rebellion against Assyria was in progress. In Sargons own words,«'Yau–bi'di of Hamath.[127] a baseborn man (*hupsu*), usurper of the throne, an evil Hittite, was plotting in his heart to become king of Hamath, and had caused the cities of Arpadda, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria to revolt against me, had unified them, and prepared for battle.»[128] Sargon routed Yau–bi'di and his allies at Qarqar[129] and hurried to Palestine where Hanunu, king of Gaza, had also broken his allegiance to Assyria and had the support of an Egyptian force. That campaign was also quickly won by Sargon: Hanunu was captured, the town of Rapihi (Raphia) was burned, and the Egyptian troops fled from him. It was only then that Sargon was able to deal with Samaria.[130]

We shall now continue Sargon's report from the point where we left it on p.17 above, following the wording of the Nimrud Prism:«With the strength of the great gods, my lords, I fought with them (and completed their defeat.)[131] 27,280 people[132] who lived therein, with their chariots and the gods of their trust[133] I counted as spoil. 200 chariots[134] for my royal regiment I mustered from among them, (and) the rest of them I settled in the midst of Assyria. The city of Samaria I restored (and) made it greater than before. People of the lands conquered by my hands I brought therein. My commissioner[135] I established over them as a governer (and) I counted them with the Assyrians[136]. The Egyptians and the Arabs — I made them overwhelmed by the glory of Assur, my lord. At the mention of my name their hearts trembled, they let down their hands.[137] I opened the sealed harbor of Egypt. The Assyrians and Egyptians I mingled together, (and) I made them trade (with each other).»

This section conflates events of considerably more than one year (even though its version in the Annals figures under Year 1). The rebuilding and resettlement of Samaria required more time than that. The reference to the Arabs is connected with Sargon's Arabian campaign of 716, and to Egypt,

with the peace concluded with it the same year.[138] Thus we cannot infer from this text in which of the years from 720 to 716 the vagualy desiguated « people of the lands conquered by my hands» were settled in Samaria. But it seems that this did not occur immediately after the deportation of the 27,290 natives. The Display Inscription (11.23–25) states, after reporting their exile and the mustering of fifty chariots from among them: *ù si–it–tu–ti i–nu–šu–nu u–ša–hi–iz*, which we would translate «and I made the remaining (inhabitants) assume their (the deportees) vocations.»[139] This means that the property of the deportees was distributed among their neighbors who were allowed to stay and were now responsible for the obligations (taxes, corvée) of the former owners so that the royal revenue from the province would not be impaired.[140] In fact, the same passage specifies about the remaining population: « My commissioner I installed over them, the tribute of the former king (i.e., Shalmaneser V) I imposed upon them.» If the arrival of a replacement population had been imminent, a redistribution of property and duties would not have been necessary.

How large is the figure of 27,290 deportees in relation to the entire population of the province of Samaria? In the first place, it must be specified that it includes men, women, and children. This was the general rule of Neo–Assyrian records.[141] Reckoning five members to an average family, this figure would correspond to approximately 5,500 famililies. A frequently quoted passage of II Kings 15:19–20 tells us that when Menahem, king of Israel, had to pay to Pul (i. e. Tiglath–Plieser III) a tribute of 1000 talents of silver, he raised the sum by exacting 50 shekels (one Phoenician mina) from each of the well off landowners (*gibbōrê–hayyil*). If silver from the royal treasury formed no part of the tribute, the number of well–off landowning families in the kingdom of Israel would be equal to 60,000. The severely reduced state under Hoshea must be supposed to have possessed at least a quarter of this number, or 15,000 well–off families, which were among the first to be marked for deportation; but only about a third of them was carried away by Sargon. And how large was the entire population? If one accepts the estimate of R. de Vaux[142] that Israel and Judah, taken together, counted a little more than a million inhabitants in the first half of the eighth century, one may assume that the central hill area had a population of about 250–300,000. If so close to 10% of the total was deported — not a very serious demographic loss.[143]

Arab Tribesmen in Samaria

Sargon's only specific statement concerning the foreign elements whom he settled in Samaria is recordided in the Annals under Year 7 of his reign (715), but it is more likely that the events referred to in the excerpt below

actually took place in the previous year.[144] It is repeated in the Cylinder Inscription.

Annals: « The tribes (lit., men) of Tamūdi, Ibādidi, Marsimāni, and Hayapā, distant Arabs (KUR *Ar–ba–ia*), who inhabit the desert, who know neither governors nor superintendents, and who had not brought their tribute to any king — with the weapon of Assur, my lord, I struck them down, the remnant of them I deported and settled them in Samaria (URU *Sa–me–ri–na*). ».[145]

Cylinder Inscription: « (The one) who devastated the wide land of Bit-Humria,[146] who at Rapihi brought about the defeat of Egypt (and) had Hanunu, king of Gaza, brought in bond to Assur; conqueror of the tribes (men) of Tamūdi, Ibadidi, Marsimāni, (and) Hayapā, whose remnants were driven out and settled in the midst of Bīt-Humria. »[147]

These, then, were « the people of the lands conquered by my hands » whom Sargon brought to the newly orginaized province of Samari, according to the chronologically conflated report of the Annals for his Year 1. If there had been an earlier transplantation thereinto, Sargon's annalists would have found an opportunity to mention it, especially in the just quoted passage of the Cylinder Inscription.[148] Unfortunately, the extreme terseness of the Annals prevents us from knowing the circumstances and the the geographical arena of Sargon's clash with the Arab tribes. Was it connected with strengthening the Assyrian frontier near al-Arish[149] and establishing trade relations with Egypt? This seems to be supported by the association of the Egyptians and the Arabs as those whom Sargon overwhelmed by the glory of Assur according to the Nimrud Prism.[150] But the entry which follows that about the four Arab tribes in the Annals for Year 7 deals with receiving gifts (construed as tribute) « from Pir'u (= Pharaoh), king of Egypt, Samsi, queen of Arabia (KUR *A–ri–bi*), It'amra the Sabean, the kings of the sea–coast and the desert, »[151] which refers to the Arabian peninsula and may indicate an active Assyrian interest in the great incense road. This would be in better agreement with the known locations of the territories of two of the four tribes — Tamūdi and Hayapā.

The former (LÚ *Ta–mu–di*) is well known thanks to the Koranic story about the extinguished people of Thamūd.[152] Their ethnic name is spelled the same way in Sabean (*Imd*) and in their own inscriptions (*Imdy*).[153] They were listed among Arabian tribes by geographers of the Roman era: Pliny calls them *Tamudeni* and ascribes to them a city *Bac lanaza*;[154] Ptolemy distinguishes the *Thamyditai* along the northernmost segment of the Hijaz coast, and the *Thamydênoi* inland, in the area of Thaima (Tayma).[155]

Their own inscriptions, written in a South Arabic script but a North Arabic dialect and dating from the fifth century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. are found over a wide area of northwestern Arabia.[156] The latter (LÚ *Ha-ia-pa-a*) are mentioned, twenty years earlier, among the Arab tribes who brought tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III.[157] This tribe has long been identiified[158] with the biblical Ephah (*Ephā*, LXX *Gaipha*, which points to an original procunciation *Ġayphā*), mentioned as an area in Arabia along with Midian in a postexilic prophecy (Isa. 60:6) and as a Midianite tribe in the priestly genalogy (Gen. 25:2).

The remaining two tribes are otherwise unknown, and may have been clans or subdivisions of larger tribal units. Both have names with good Arabic etymologies. One (Lû *I-ba-di-di*)[159] may be derived from *badda* «to separate» or « to send somebody away to a remote palace»; the closest Arabic formation is *abādīd*-«those scattered about.» A personal name *ᶜbdd* is found, significantly, in a Thamudic inscription,[160] and it many be connected to the same root.[161] The other (Lū *Mar-si-(i-)-ma-ni*) seems to be a derivation of *rasama* in one of its several meanings: « to trace, mark, design, write, prescribe» etc.; cf, *marasim*-« traces, vestiges, marks,» and *marsūm*-« marked, carrying traces, imprints, lignes. » There are cognates in Sabean : YRSM (Yarsum), both a tribal and personal name, and RSM (*Rasam*), a tribal name.[162]

Sargon's claim that only «the remnants» of these tribes were settled in Samaria, which implies that the rest of them was annihilated, is, of course, usual Assyrian braggings. As we have seen, the Thamudenes and the Ghayfans were still very much around in northwestern Arabia centuries after Sargon. The number of prisoners of war that could be taken by a regular, slowly moving army in a single raid against highly mobile (and not very numerous in the first place) Bedouin tribes of the desert must have been quite limited. The Arab captives who were brought to Samaria in 715 must have been deported shortly before. Within two or three generations they were completely dissolved in the local population. Otherwise it is impossible to explain how their introduction into central Palestine was so quickly and totally forgotten. A hundred years later, Jeremiah regarded Israel of his time (the inhabitants of Samaria) as a true sister of Judah, even less guilty than she, and hoped for their reunion.[163] In another exhortation, he called Ephraim the first-born of Yahweh, spoke of Rachel as the ancestress of the people of the hill-country of Samaria, and predicted a new convenant of Yahweh with the house of Israel and the house of Judah.[164] The same is true of Jeremiah's junior contemporary, Ezekiel.[165] Neither of the two gave the slightest hint that a certain part of the population of central Palestine con-

sisted of an alien element, not related to the Israelites. When, some three hundred years later, there was launched the allegation that Samaritans were not of Israelite descent, the true events of Sargon's time had long fallen into oblivion, and the fabricators had to create their stories of whole cloth.[166]

Hamathites in Samaria ?

It remains for us to clarify one more problem. We have seen that the vassal kingdom of Hamath rose against Assyria in 721 and was reconquered and reduced to the status of a province by Sargon the next year. It is known from Sargon's records that an unspecified number of Hamathites was deported from their country. One of the five nations whom « the king of Assyria» transplanted to Samaria according to II Kings 17:24–34 b was the Hamathites. And so several scholars tried to put two and together. The eminent historian of Assyria, A.T. Olmstead, asserted: « Again the Hebrew scriptures illustrate the process [of Assyrian deportations]. The men of Hamath who were settled in Samaria were doubtless participants of the revolt of 720...»[167] Other statements to that effect were made by A. Lods[168] and T.H. Gaster.[169]

But Sargon never said that he had transplanted any of the exiled Hamathites to Samaria. In his Cyprus stele he states explicitly: « The land of Hamath to its farthest border I destroyed like a flood. Yau–bi'di, their king, together with his family, his warriors, as captives of this land, I carried away to Assyria in bonds. 300 chariots,[170] 600 cavalry, bearers of shield and lance, I selected from among them and added them up to my royal regiment. 6,300 Assyrian malefactors (*bel hitti*) I settled in the land of Hamath and my commissioner as governor I set over them. Tribute and tax I imposed upon them. »[171]

In a copy of the Cyprus Stele, as yet unpublished,[172] the last part of this section is given in an expanded version:«6,300 Assyrian malefactors, (whose) grave I had prepared, I pardoned (and) I settled them in the midst of the land of Hamath. Tribute, tax, corvee, (and) road service[173] — such as the kings, my fathers, had imposed upon Irhulena of the land of Hamath[174]— I imposed upon them.» Who were those Assyrian offenders, first sentenced to death and then pardoned by Sargon and merely expelled from their homes to a freshly conquered, remote area of the empire? P. Garelli[175] thought that they were political adversaries of Sargon who opposed him during his coup d'état. Or they may have been the people of three border towns who were accused of treasonable connections with Ursa (Rusa), king of Urartu, and whom, because of that crime, Sargon depoted in 719 and settled in « Hatti of Amurru», i.e. in Syria.[176] At any rate, recent finds and sondages at Rasm Tanjara,

in the drained marshes of el-Ghāb — an area which in the ninth and eighth centuries belonged to the kingdom of Hamath — revealed there an important settlement which included an Assyrian ethnic element.[177] It would apear probable that Rasm Tanjara was one of the colonies of the deported Assyrians in the province of Hamath.

We see that the exiles from Hamath, who were the warriors and the aristocratic charioteers of that country were resettled not in Samaria but in Assyria, where they, very likely, took over the homesteads of the Assyrians who had been sent to Hamath in, as it were, a limited exchange of populations. The attempts to find at least one grain of historical truth in the anti-Samaritan story proves again to be futile. We would like to hope that this contribution to the study of the problem will help to dispel the habitual aberrations on the origin of the Samaritans.

Notes

1. From the Hasmonean period on, Galileans and Judeans were considered parts of the Jewish people, but spoke different dialects of Aramaic and their territories were not contiguous.

2. For new evidence on these events see Cross (1969).

3. Detailed exposition: Montgomery (1907) 165–203.

4. On Jewish-Samaritan relations see the relevant entries of major biblical introductions and encyclopedias, as well as Montgomery (1907), M. Gaster (1925), Rowley (1962), and Purvis (1968).

5. The reasons for this dating will be expounded below.

6. Montgomery (1907) 194; M. Gaster (1925) 7; T. H. Gaster, *IDB* IV, 191.

7. As stated by Rowley (1962) 208–209, « The complete unfairness of this story to the Samaritans is often pointed out; nevertheless it is not seldom referred to as giving a reliable account of the origin of the Samaritan community and an explanation of the relations that developed between Jerusalem and Samaria. » In n. 8, Rowley listed the relevant entries in six encyclopedias of Bible and religion.

8. Here is a short list of passages to this effect in works by some competent, well-informed, and otherwise critical authors: Olmstead (1923) 209; *id.* (1948) 313-314; Cook (1925) 384–385; Beer *RE*, IA, 2106; Lods (1935) 25–26; de Vaux (1958 a) 203; Driver (1958) 18–20; Tadmor (1958) 39; Hallo (1960) 186–187; T.H. Gaster, *IDB* IV, 191; Oppenheim, *ibid.*, 223; Deller (1965) 382–386; Gray (1970) 650–656; Donner (1977) 434; Kaufman (1978); Weippert, *RLA* V, 203.

9. See n. 12 below.

10. Thus (*Kūt*), instead of Cutha (*Kūtā*) in v. 24.

11. The consonantal writing (*k*ᵉ*tīb*) of the Masoretic text has *'lh*, i.e. *'elōah* « god » in singular.

12. The rest of the chapter consists of reiterations of the same idea with some contradictions in evaluating the alleged religious practices of the Samaritans: according to v. 34b–40, «They *do not fear Yahweh*, and they do not follow the statutes ... which Yahweh commanded the children of Jacob, whom he named Israel » and so on; but v. 41 restates that « these nations *feared Yahweh*, and also served their graven images; their children likewise, and their children's children — as their fatheirs did, so they do to this day. »

13. See nn. 7 and 8 above.

14. Cf. Barzun and Graff (1962) 88–114.

15. I Kings 12:31.

16. I Kings 12:25–33; 13; II Kings 23:4, 15–20.

17. For the presumable date of 550 B. C. for the conclusion of the book of Kings see Lods (1950) 394–396; Pfeiffer (1948) 410–412. Jepsen (1956) 102–104 assumed a third editor about 500 B. C.

18. Vink (1969). Most biblical scholars attribute it to the fifth century B. C., cf. Pfeiffer (1948) 188.

19. Wellhausen (1899) 133; accepted by Pfeiffer (1948) 87, 310. 313 (« The willful anti-Samaritan curtailment of the sections dealing with Ephraim probably dates from the fourth century »).

20. 250 B.C. is the date advocated by Pfeiffer (1948) 812; Noldeke (1924) 1850 dated it closer to 200; Lods (1950) 628, about 190.

21. I.e., the Edomites (Idumeans). The Septuagint has« in the mountain of Samaria,» but the Syriac version has« Gebal» (a later designation of Mount Seir), and the Vetus Latina, « in monte Seir. »

22. Wellhausen (1885) xiv (summary), cf. 171–227.

23. Torrey (1910) 231; cf. Pfeiffer (1948) 805.

24. On Cutha (cuneiform *Kutû*) in official documents from the reign of Antiochus I, dated 287 and 284 B.C., see Rostovtzeff (1928) 188.

25. Cf. Le Strange (1905) 68–69; Plessner, *EI*[1],1236–1237. Its ruins are now called Tell Ibrāhīm.

26. Montgomery (1951) 473–474; Kittel, *BH*, *ad loc.*; Gray, *IDB* IV, 449–450; *id.* (1970) 654. On that goddess, see Deimel (1914) No. 1326; Dhorme (1949) 146-147. The name is spelled *Zrpnt* in the mid-eighth century B.C. Aramaic treaty from Sfireh, see Dupont-Sommer (1958) 17, 19, 30–31.

27. Kraeling (1953) 86 n. 9; repeated by Porten (1968) 171. Milik (1967) 558–559 boldly interpreted *sukkot* as a derivation of *sknt* « female intendant » (however, that term appears as *šakintu* in Akkadian and *sōkenet* in Hebrew, always retaining the *n*), and postulated a goddess « Sakkût-bânît, 'Intendante de la Créatrice.' »

28. II Kings 23:7: «And he broke down the houses of the cult prostitutes which were in the house of Yahweh. »

29. Meissner (1920–25) II, 68–70, 435–437.

30. Cf. my note « Succoth-benoth, « *IDB*, Suppl., 842.

31. The same chapters, with insignificant textual changes, were also inserted into the book of Isaiah as chapters 36 and 37.

32. It is so close to the (considerably more verbose) annals of Year 4 of Sennacherib that one may suspect author's acquaintance with the Assyrian source.

33. Cf. Lods (1950) 390–391; van Leeuwen (1965).

34. The memories of the Assyrian Empire were still fresh in the Late Babylonian (Chaldean) Kingdom. Its last king, Nabonidus (555–539 B.C.), a contemporary of the Second Isaiah, knew perfectly well the chronology of the last Assyrian king (the memorial nscription of his mother, transl. *ANET*, 560–562) and the murder of Sennacherib by his son (Istanbul stele, transl. *ibid.*, 309,sect. i) The geography, of course, did not change.

35. Translated in all versions as «of the city» (of Sepharvaim), though it is grammatically very irregular. Actually itis a toponym, as will be shown below.

36. Since *Laᶜir* is a separate geographical item, it is necessary to restitute *melek* – « the king of» or perhaps *ᶜam*– « the people of») before *Sᵉpharvayim*.

37. The MT has *sᵉpharwayim henaᶜ wᵉ–ᶜiwwā* both here and 18:34; LXX, *Sappharouain*, *Ana kai Aa*(. The expanded translationin RSV : « the king of Hena, or the king of Ivvah,» is totally unwarranted. *Hena' wᵉ–ᶜiwwa* form one entity with *sᵉpharwayim*.

38. The vv. 18:33–34 seem to have been paraphrased from 19:12–13 and inserted by a redactor.

39. In the parallel passage Isa. 37:12: *Tᵉlaśśār*.

40. *ARAB* I, § 768, 774, 775, 795. It took part in the Median insurrection against Esarhaddon, *ARAB* II, §§ 517, 532; at that time it was the capital of the land of Barnaki.

41. See my notes« Eden, 3,» *IDB*, Sup 1., 251, and«Tel–assar,» *ibid.*, 868.

42. Gibson (1975) No. 11 . 11 and 12, and cf. comentary, p. 57:« Since inscription *i* [11], if not ii [12], predates the expansion of the Assyrian empire under Tiglathpileser III and his successors and the mass deportations which this brought about, it is reasonable to conclude that the people who made and inscribed the juglet and cup belonged to a group of ethnic Aramaeans from Babylonia, who migrated to Luristan in the early 8th century and maintained themselves in that mountainous region for several generations thereafter.»

43. Marti (1900) 254; Duhm (1922) 267; Dussaud (1927) 236; but either without a definite identification, or with a wrong one.

44. Sarsowsky (1912) 146.

45. Driver (1957) 27–28, letter No. VI, line 1 (from Arsham, a Persian dignitary).

46. After a name too damaged for identification, and before *ʾrzhn* = Ass. Arzuhina, south of Arrapha (Kirkuk), and *ʾrbl* = Arbela (Irbil).

47. *Op. cit.* (see n. 45) 56–57 and n. 1 (with credit to Sarsowsky). See my note «Laᶜir,» *IDB*, suppl., 526.

48. Forrer (1920) 46–47; Diakonoff (1956) 268 n. 2.

49. Cf. the lengthy list of its occurrences, Parpola (1970), 222–223.

50. *ARAB* II, § 34 = Lie (1929) 52–53, II. 1–4.

51. It was already popular before the publication of Halévy (1889) in which he disputed it. It as admitted by Vigouroux (1896) 572; Sayce in *DOB* IV (1902) 437, Le Gac in *DIB* V (1912) 1615–1617; negatively by Cook (1925) 384–385 and Diakonoff (1956) 209; positively by Driver (1958) 19*.

52. The Qumran scroll A of Isaiah has the spelling *spryym* in 37:13; but the interchage *w/y* was very common because of their similarity in the Hebrew–Aramaic square script.

53. *ARAB* I, §§ 295, 309. Tukulti–Ninurta II mentions Sippar of Shamash, *ibid.* § 408; also Tiglath–Pileser III, *ibid.* § 764. On *Sippar duri* («of the wall») and *Sippar ṣeri* (of the field») in the Old Babylonian period see Goetze (1953) 35; Hallo (1964) 66.

54. *ARAB* II, §§ 40, 54, 68, 78, 92 etc.

55. Most recent edition: Grayson (1975) Chron. I, col. I:27–28. The passage in question has been examined by Tadmor (1958) 39–40.

56. According to Tadmor, *l.c.*, Delitzsch (1887) 1290 was the first to equate Babylonian Šamara'in with Samaria.

57. Halévy (1887); (1889).

58. It was accepted, among many others, by Scheil (1895); Winckler (1903) 63; Lods (1935) 142; Albright (1956) 163, 220 n. 116; Kapelrud, *IDB* IV, 273; Gray (1970) 256, who even replaced *Sepharvaim* by *Sibraim* in the text itself of his translation of the biblical passage.

59. The passage Ezek. 47:15–18 is poorly preserved. We take *g*ᵉ*būl* to mean here, as often, «territory,» and not « border,» for there can be only one border between two adjacent territories. The redundant second *u–ben* « between » is probably a dittography.

60. Sarsowsky (1912) 146–147.

61. *ARAB* II, §§ 592–612.

62. E.g., *Riphăt* Gen. 10:3 = *Diphăt* I Chr. 1:6; *Dōdanīm* Gen. 10:4 = Rōdanīm I Chr. 1:7; frequent confusion between *'dm* (Edom) and *'rm* (Aram); extremely common in renderings of proper names in LXX.

63. Sepharad is usually identified with Sardis in Lydia (*Sparda* in Persian), see most recently Lipinski (1973). However, the geographical and historical context of Obadiah's prophecy, in which Sepharad is mentioned with Halah and Gozan (see my note « Sepharad,» *IDB*, Suppl., 807), two places where Israelites were exiled after the fall of Samaria (II Kings 17:6), speaks for equating it with Saparda in Media, the third area of Israelite deportation according to the same verse. Lydia never belonged to the Assyrian Empire, and if any Israelites reached it by the time of Obadiah (late sixth or early fifth century B.C.), they could not be qualified as « exiles.»

64. See Parpola (1970) 304 for the occurrences and spellings of the name. It is written either *Sa–par–da*, *Sa–par–da*, *Sa–pa–ar–da* in the Babylonian way, or *Ša–Păr–da*, *Ša–par–da*, *Ša–par–da*, *Ša–pa–ar–da* in the Assyrian way (where *š* was read *s*).

65. On its location and history see Forrer (1920) 92–93; Diakonoff (1956) 209, 212–213, 255–256, 260.

66. *ARAB* II, §§ 11,14 (Annals) (=Lie [1929]16–17, ll.96–100; 18–21,ll. 109–114); 57 (Display Inscription).

67. *Ibid.*, § 147.

68. Knudtzon (1893) No. 30 rev. 4 read« the governors of Bīt-Kāri and Saparda.» Forrer (1921) 93 found the reading *Saparda*« quite uncertain»; Parpola (1970) 304 did not include it under that heading; but Diakonoff (1956) 213 accepted it.

69. Klauber (1913) No. 4. See on this text Olmstead (1923) 359–363.

70. This interpretation was very briefly presented in my note« Sepharvaim,» *IDB*, Suppl. 807.

71. Cf. Gray (1970) 677 n. g. A very singular surmise was advanced by Hommel (1904) 89: that Hena and Ivvah-Avvah were not cities but the sixth and the thirteenth moon stations of Arab astronomy, respectively al-Han'a and al-'Awwā, whom the Sepharvites supposedly worshippad as gods.

72. This idea was first stated in a very brief note by Hommel (1912) and was apparently ignored by Biblicists for forty years till it was approvingly mentioned again by Albright (1952) 252, and later taken up McKay (1973) 69, 124 n. 11. On the gods in question, see below.

73. Cf. Unger and Ebeling «Awan», *RLA*, I, 384; Hinz (1964) ch. IV; *id.* (1971) 654, 658; Vallat (1980) 5–6; Cameron (1936) 26–42,228. Here must be noted another hypothesis which links Avvah to an allegedly Elamite location. Sanda (1912) 224–225 identified it with an URU *A-ma-a* in Sargon II's annals (*ARAB* II, § 32) which he placed in Elam near its border with Babylonia. De Vaux (1958a) 202–203 apparently had it in mind when he vaguely wrote that Avvah «probably was an eastern march of Mesopotamia towaerd Elam;» Driver (1958) 18 took up Sanda's dentification as « plausible.» However, even assuming that *m* in *A-ma-a* was read *w* (which is by no means certain), that town was not located in Elam it was one of fourteen settlements of the Babylonian-Aramean tribe of Gambulu whose inhabitants fled before Sargon's attack to the river Uqnu (Karun), which flows from Elam and empties into the Tigris, and surrendered there to him. Elam is not even mentioned in the record of that campaign. Thus disappears the actual motive for equating Avvah with *A-ma-a*; the alleged worship of Elamite gods by the Avvites.

74. Cf. its use in I Sam. 20:30; Isa. 21:3; Ps. 38:7; Prov. 12:8.

75. Cf. in Sargon II's records: «Mutallu of Kummuhu, a wicked Hittite, who did not fear the name of the gods, a planner of evil, plotter of iniquity,» *ARAB* II, § 64; « the wicked Elamite», (Shuturnahundu, king of Elam), *idib.* § 35 (= Lie [1929] 54–44, 11. 367–368); «a base-born (*hupsu*) an evil Hittite» (Ya'u-bi'di, king of Hamath), *ibid.* § 55; « Ilu-bi'di, the wretched» (same man), *ibid.* § 118; or in Sennacherib's annals: «the overbearing and proud Hezekiah,» *ibid.* § 327.

76. The difference in punctuation of the initial ayin in 'WH may have been caused by the punctuators' hesitation between the orally transmitted vocalization in *a* and the Masoretic rule that a short *a* in a closed, unaccented syllable becomes *i*. The addition of vocalic signs to the Hebrew text of the Bible took place not earlier than A.D. 700.

77. On this divine figure see the remark in Astour (1966) 281–282, with some bibliography; Porten (1968) 172 and n. 101.

78. As accepted in the RSV translation of the passage.

79. As suggested by Gray (1970) 653 n. *c*; 654.

80. Montgomery (1951) 474–475; Gray (1970) 653–654; *id.*, *IDB* III, 546, and IV, 519; Porten (1968) 171–172.

81. Attested in Greek inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.D. in northern Syria: as Zeus Madbachos at Jebel Sheikh Barakat (IGLS 465) and as Zeus Bômos (Greek for« altar») at Baqirha (IGLS 569).

82. See nn. 72 and 73 above.

83. The relevant part of that list was published and commented on by Frank (1914).

84. nap is the Elamite determinative for« god.» The list equates Ibnahaza with the Babylonian Ea, god of the sweet–water ocean and of wisdom, and Dakdadra, with Sin, the moon god.

85. None of the authors who tried to reconstruct the alleged historical and religious facts in II Kings 17:24–34a have paid any attention to *Eblazer*. Only Milik (1967) 578, in an unrelated context, attempted to conflate *Nibhas* and *Eblazer* into a synthetic **Nabū–hâzer*« Nabu who returns.» name, Even if one agrees with this manipulation, the resulting name turns out to be a theophoric personal not a divine one.

86. Such as Hebrew, *El'āzār* or Phoenician *B*ᶜ1ᶜ*zr* (Greek rendition *Balesôros*) or the Aramaic royal name rendered in Hebrew *Hadad–ezer* Or it could be an incomplete (hypocoristic) Akkadian name of the type DN–*bel–zeri*, e.g., *Nabu–bel–zeri*, or *Bel–zer* (*Blzr* in the Aramaic tablet Assur 5:3), short for *Bel–zer–ibni/iddin/iqisa* or something similar.

87. He could have also proceeded from the personal name *Trhqh* (Tirhâqâ), the Ethiopian king mentioned in the same narrative, 19:9, but then he would not only have to change the first *h* into *z* but also delete the final *h*.

88. To mention a few Lods (1935) 142; Albright (1956) 163; Eissfeldt (1955); Deller (1965) 382–388; Weinfeld (1972) 145, 149.

89. Albright, *l.c.*; *id.* (1964) 209.

90. Adumbrated by Pohl (1941) 35–37, considered a firm fact by Albright, *l.c.*, and developed in great detail by Deller (1965).

91. Kaufman (1978) submitted Deller's thesis to careful scrutiny and came to the conclusion (p. 107): «Thus, based on all the evidence mustered by Deller in his original argument, it has been shown that U.U is Hadad, not Adad–milki; that ᵈXXX is Sin, not Adad–milki; that the correct reading of the names in List I is Adad–iski–X; that the *milki* of the Halaf name Adad–milki–ila va is a separate part of the name and means 'king'; and that the Biblical form' Adrammelek has nothing to do with any of it.» He also found that the alphabetic Aramaic name, likely to be read, *dmlkly*, does not mean« Adad–milki is my god» but« Ad (Adad) is the king of gods» (p. 109).

92. Esarhaddon refers to Sennacherib's murderers as «my brothers» *(ARAB II*,: §§ 501–506, esp. 502) but gives neither their names nor number. The Babylonian Chronicle, III:34–35, states:

«On the twentieth day the month Tebet Sennacherib, king of Assyria, was killed by his son in a rebellion» (Grayson 1975) 81). Nabonid also speaks of *a* son who killed Sennacherib *(ANET*, 209). On this, see already: Winckler (1887). Perhaps Esarhaddon had in mind all the brothers who participated in the conspiracy, and the Babylonian sources considered only the leader of the plot. Incidentally, no son of Sennacherib with a name resembling Sharezer appears in the records; for a suggestion who he may have been, see van Leeuwen (1965) 261.

93. Parpola (1980), with references to earlier suggestions.

94. *I.a*, Albright (1925), and still (1956) 163, but no longer quoted besides«Adad-milki»(1964) 209; Gray (1970) 665 (ᶜAn syncretized with the West Semitic god Melek, or Molech, to whom human sacrifices were made).

95. Lods (1935) 142; Eissfeldt (1955) 339; de Vaux (1958 a) 203 n. *e*; Weinfeld (1972) 149.

96. Albright (1956) 163; Deller (1965) 382.

97. All occurrences of the element ᶜ*n* in West Semitic personal names stand not for the imaginary god ᶜAn but for the common noun ᶜ*en*/ᶜ*ān* « eye » (in construct state). ᶜ*nml*[*k*] appears as a *personal* name in the Ugaritic text RS 17.63: Caquot (1978) 389. 391. «Eye» in names of this kind signifies« cherished possession» or« object of attention» (of a god). But (a simple guess) ᶜ*Anammelek* in our story may have been inspired by ᶜ*en-ham-melek* « the king's eye,» designation of a high official of the Achaemenid administration, known from several contemporary Greek sources, listed by Olmstead (1948) 59 nn. 6, 7.

98. *ARAB* II, §§ 511-512, repeated § 527.

99. Montgomery (1907) 51-52 and Donner (1977) 434 thought to detect a hidden allusion to the reign of Esarhaddon in the gloss Isa. 7:8b which is inserted into a prophecy concerning the Syro-Ephraimite war of 734 B.C. « Within sixty-five years Ephraim will be broken to pieces so that it will no longer be a people» (in Hebrew the closing words are much terser: *yehat* ᵓ*Ephrayim me*-ᶜ*ām)*. 734-65=669, the last regnal year of Esarhaddon. Montgomery surmised that these words« may have reference to some chastisment of the land » by Esarhaddon; Donner, that they allude to the arrival of a new group of colonists to Samaria. We have seen that nothing of that kind can be found in Esarhaddon's records. All recensions of LXX have in this place *all'eti hexēkonta kai pente etōn ekleipsei hē basileia Ephraim apo laou* « but in sixty -five more years the kingship of Ephraim will depart from the people» (understanding *yehat* at impf. of *nāhat* «to go down, drop down» rather than of *hātat*« to be shattered»), which is a much clearer construction and obviously refers to the events of 725-722 B.C.: Why « in sixty-five years » is anybody's guess. Perhaps the gloss was taken from some *vaticinium ex eventu* which referred to an earlier war between Judah and Israel, under Amaziah and Jehoash (II Kings 14:8-14); which actually took place about sixty-five years *before* 722 B.C.

100. As summarized by Pfeiffer (1948) 824,« In view of the disagreements of these documents with historical facts, as well as in view of their obvious Jewish character and linguistic characteristics, the most plausible conclusion is that 'all the Persian documents in Ezra are no less spurious those in Josephus, *Antiquities* 11:4,9 (§ 118 f.) ' (J.: Wellhausen, *Isr. und jud. Geschichte*, p. 51, n.1. 1914). »

101. The same retrospective self-aggrandizement lies behind the claim of the late story of Solomon's reign that he« ruled over all the kingdoms from the River (=Euphrates) <to the> land

of the Philistines and to the border of Egypt; they brought tribute and served Solomon all the days of his life» (I Kings 5 : 1 (RSV 4:21)), or that «he had dominion over all Beyond the River, from Tipsah to Gaza, over all the kings of Beyond the River» (*ibid.* 5:4 (RSV 4:24)). On the contrary, the earlier, realistic story avowed that Solomon did not even control Damascus (ibid.. 11:23–25), lost Edom (*ibid.* 11:14–21), and ceded twenty towns in Galilee to Hiram of Tyre (*ibid.* 9:10–13). Meyer (1931) 253 n. 4 correctly noted:«The extension of Solomon's empire over the entire Persian province province of ʿAbarnaharā' from Tapsacus up to Gaza' is a late fantasy.»

102. Cf. Pfeiffer (1948) 830.

103. This is the Aramaic rendering of the Akkadian title *bel temi* which appears in reports on extispicy to Esarhaddon, cf. Klauber (1913 xxiv, 161. The literal meaning is « one possessing understanding,» in this case «expert.» Akk. *temu*, Aram. *ṭᵉʿem* also means «order.» *RSV* renders it «commander»; Herzfeld (1938) 318 thought it to be« chief of the chancery.»

104. In this transliteration, the *qᵉri* has been followed for *'ark ᵉwāyē* (final aleph missing in *kᵉtib* and *dᵉhāyēᵉ (kᵉtib: dehawe)*.

105. The Hebrew text has *qiryā* (sing.), not *qiryātā* (pl.), but LXX translated *en poleisin*, and RSV « in the cities.» This does not change the sense of the phrase.

106. Here with a prothetic aleph; in Jewish Aram. *pᵉristᵉ qa* «soldier, orderly, policeman.» RSV translates «governors.»

107. As seen by Noldeke (1924) 1851. Galling (1951) 70–72 admitted the connection of *Tarpᵉlāyē* with Phoenician Tripolis, but enterd on the slippery road of trying to extract some authentic elements from the pseudo–epistolary passage of Ezra 4, and proposed to explain the occurrence of Tripolis as referring to the alleged residence of the Persian satrap of Abar–Naharā and his officials.

108. Diodorus Siculus XVI:40:1.

109. Honigmann, « Tripolis 3,» *RE* VII–A, 1, 203–204.

110. Cf. *aphrᵉsatᵉkāyē* '(quoted above) for Pers. *frestaka*, or *apharsᵉkāyē* '(Ezra 5 : 6) for Pers. *frasāka*, a judiciary official. Translated «Persians» in RSV; Meyer (1896) 38; Bewer (1922) 98; Bowman (1954) 601.

111. Strabo XI:13:6 (from Nearchus, Alexander the Great's admiral); Herzfeld (1968) 189.

112. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, 6, 352.

113. Tomaschek. «Daai,» *RE* IV, 1946; *id.*, « Daoi,» *ibid.*, 2133.

114. «Samaritans,» *IDB* IV, 191. Hallo (1960) 186–187, following an article by A. Malamat, thought that in 641 B.C. there occurred an« uprising of all the western territories which Assurbanipal moved quickly to quell in 640. Even Samaria may have joined the revolt, for the foreign populations which 'Asnappar' resettled there (Ezra 4:9f.) could well have been prisoners of the Elamite revolt.» In reality, only Usu (Palaeotyrus) and Acco revolted against Assurbanipal; he transported inhabitants to Assyria and settled no one in their place (ARAB II, § 830).

115 *ARAB* II, § 797.

116. *Ibid.*, § 850.

117. *Ibid.* §§ 800 (city of Bit-Imbi) ; 804 (twenty-nine devastated cities of Elam); 808 (fourteen cities of Elam); 811 (Elam at large); 816 (surrendered escapees enrolled as archers in the royal regiment). A very useful chart of all Assyrian deportations with years, numbers of deportees, and all geographical data, has been compiled by Zablocka (1971) 67–79 and map.

118. He is mentioned only once in the whole Old Testament in an authentic passage by his contemporary Isaiah (20:1): «In the year when the commander in chief *(tartan)*, who was sent by Sargon the king of Assyria, came to Ashdod and fought against it and took it.» This happened in 712 B.C. But the compilers of II Kings did not correlate him with the history of Israel and Judah.

119. *ARAB* II, §§ 55.

120. On this reading, see p. 8 above.

121. Grayson (1975) 73.

122. Tadmor (1958) 37, and for our following discussion, cf. his entire section «The Fall of Samaria,» pp. 33–40.

123. *ARAB* II, § 4 := Lie (1929) 4–7, III1–23; but see the new, improved, and partially restored text of that passage and of frgm. D of the Nimrud Prism in Tadmor (1958) 34. The Nimrud Prism was published by Gadd (1954) 173–201.

124. We follow closely, with only minor stylistic changes, the restoration and translation of Annals 10–12 by Tadmor, l.c. For the continuation, see p. 18 below.

125. Tadmor, *op. cit.*, 36.

126. Babyl. Chron. I:33–35 is a true report of the battle both as to its date and its outcome. Sargon, who — naturally for an Assyrian king — claimed victory at Dêr, dated it in his first year *(ARAB* II, § 4), but here, too, we are dealing with a chronological compression.

127. Also called Ilu-biʾdi in Sargon's records.

128. *ARAB* II, § 55 (Display Inscription); cf. also § § 5 (Annals;: = Lie (1929) 6–7, II. 23–25), 118, 125, 134, 137, 183. Arpad was annexed to Assyria in 740, Simirra in 738, Damascus in 732 (all of them by Tiglath-pileser III), Samaria, as we have seen, only in 722. Sargon subsumes the rebel province of Hatarikka into Hamath, with which it had been at times joined by a personal union. Sargon's entrance into the city of Hatarikka is mentioned, in Nimrud letter XVIII, along with the death of Ilu-biʾdi (Saggs [1955] 137). «Hittite,» in Neo-Assyrian parlance, simply means «Syrian.»

129. Now Qarqûr on the right bank of the Orontes, 8 km south of Jisr esh-Shughr. Another famous battle was fought there in 853 B.C. between the army of Shalmaneser III and an earlier Syrian coalition which also included Damascus, Hamath, Israel (still independent at that time), and several lesser states.

130. We wish we knew more about the people of Samaria in their last struggle for freedom. According to II Kings 17:4–5, Hoshea, the last king of Israel, was imprisoned by « the king of Assyria» (certainly Shalmaneser V, mentioned by name by in v. 3) before the start of the three-years' siege of Samaria. Who headed its resistance from 725 to 722, and again in the uprising of 721–720? Sargon speaks only about the «people,» not about the »king» of Samaria, unlike Hamath and Gaza.

131. The words in parentheses were omitted in the Nimrud Prism, but must be restored in the corresponding place of the Annals, following the Display Inscription; see Tadmor (1958) 35 n.111

132. The figure in the Display Inscription is 27, 290.

113. This detail is of interest for understanding of the religion of Israel at the time of Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah.

134. The Annals and the Display Inscription speak of 50 chariots.

135. LÚ *šu ut-SAG-ia*: *rešiya, šūt* translated «official» (Luckenbill), «officers» (Oppenheim), «courtier» (Tadmor), « approximately (high) commissioner in Assyrian provinces» (von Soden).

136. The Annals have instead «tribute and tax ([*bil-tu*] *ma-da-at-tu*) I imposed upon them as Assyrians.»

137. The two sentences dealing with the Egyptians and Arabs do not appear in the Annals.

138. Cf. Tadmor (1958) 35–36.

139. The rare word *inû* (thus normalized in *AHw*; *inu* in *CAD*) is found only in the records of Sargon II and Assurbanipal. The meaning is approximately «craft,»«speciality,»«vocational work». Our translation comes closest to that of Oppenheim, *ANET*, 285: «(social) positions ...... ,»

140. This is the same measure as the one taken by the Babylonians in conquered Judah in 586 B.C., after several thousand of the upper class were deported: «But the captain of the guard left some of the poorest of the land to be vinedressers and plowmen.» II Kings 25:12. Cf. also Ezekiel's (himself an exile of an earlier deportation) wrath against the remaining majority of the Judeans who claim the possession of the land (Ezek. 33:23–29).

141. Cf. the census of the Harran province, first published by Johns (1901) and recently by Fales (1973), or, for instance, KAV 39, translated in Diakonoff (1949) 123 — a deed of grant of 41 persons to the god Zababa, which includes even infants. Cf also Assurbanipal's Cylinder Rassam (*ARAB* II, § 808): «his people, great and small, I carried away to Assyria.»

142. (1958b) I, 103–100= (1961) 66–67.

143. An odd mistake in arithmetics was made by Gray (1970) 645: «It is interesting to note that 27,290 is almost a quarter of the population of Palestine before the end of the British mandate.» In other words, Gray estimated the population of *all* of Palestine in 1948 to equal 109,000 persons! Even if this ludicrous figure is increased tenfold, it would only approximate the demographic situation of Palestine in 1931 (1,014,000 according to de Vaux (1958b) 106); it was twice as large in early 1948.

144. Tadmor (1958) 35, 78.

145. *ARAB* II, § 17:= Lie (1929) 20–23, ll. 120–123.

146. «The house of Omri»—Assyrian designation of Israel after King Omri, founder of the dynasty (885–841 B.C.) under which the Assyrians first came into contact with it.

147. Lyon (1883) 3–4, 32–36=*ARAB* II, § 118.

148. The enumeration of Sargon's deeds in the Cylinder Inscription follows no chronological or geographical order; but it is noteworthy that the conquest of Bit-Humria (Israel) and the settlement there of the Arab tribesmen are linked together, as though the complier wanted to tell everything connected with Samaria before passing on to other areas.

149. Stationing of (Assyrian troops) in the town of Nahal-Mu-[sur] («The Brook of Egypt,» now el-Arish) in 716 B.C. is mentioned, along with the reception of gifts from Shilkanni, king of Egypt, in Sargon's fragmentary prism from Assur, published by Weidner (1944).

150. See quotation on p. (18).

151. *ARAB* II, § 18 = Lie (1929) 22-23, 11. 123-124.

152. Sura 7:71;cf. Olmstead (1923) 210-211; Braun, «*Thamūd*,» *EI*[1] IV, 774; on Arab tribes in Assyrian texts, Musil (1926) 287-296.

153. Ryckmans (1934) I, 320.

154. *Hist. Nat.* VI:32 (§ 157).

155. *Geogr.* VI:8. A map of Arabia, drawn according to the coordinates of Ptolemy, is reproduced in Hitti (1968) 47.

156. Dussaud (1955) 132-135, with further bibliohgraphy.

157. *ARAB* §§ I, 778,8 799, 18.

158. Since Schrader (1872) 58 and Delitzsch (1881) 304.

159. Thus in the Nimrud Prism, l. 18; LÚ *I-ba - a-di-di* in the Annals, Lie (1929) 20-21, 1. 120; miswritten LU *I-na-di-di* in the Cylinder Inscription, I. 20 (not *I-na-bi-di*, as quoted in Parpola [1970] 171).

160. Ryckmans (1934) 253; he considered it a composite of *'ab*«father and *dâd* «love.»

161. *Ibid.*, 257 (BDD), with derived personal names *Bddᶜd* and *Bdbᶜ*d.

162. *Ibid.*, 201, 316.

163. Jer. 3:6-23.

164. Jer 31, esp. vv. 9b, 15, 20, 31.

165. Ezek. 37:15-23; cf. Rowley (1962) 212-214.

166. There is no need to discuss here Alt's (1934) theory that the alien settlers became the aristocracy of the province of Samaria, and the native population, its lower class. Morton Smith (1971) 193-201 has refuted it in the most convincing way.

167. Olmstead (1923) 209.

168. Lods (1935) 25:« Some could have been sent [to Samaria] by Sargon in the wake of the

uprising of 720 this is the case of the natives of Syria, i.e., those of Hamath... »

169. «Samaritans,» *IDB* IV, 191:«Thus, the Hamathites were probably transported to Samaria only after Saragon had quelled a revolt in that city in 721...»

170. The Display Inscription (*ARAB* II, § 55) has 200.

171. *ARAB* II, § 183. Luckenbuill read only *bel* [....] ; supplemented from the stele referred to in n. 172. «Malefactor» is the equivalent of *bel hitti* in *CAD*.

172. Finet (1975) 12 n. 48 quotes a letter from the late Jean Nougarol, dated February 24, 1973, in which he reported having seen a photograph of an inscription on stone similar to Sargon's Cyprus Stele, and cited its most interesting parts. These are reproduced in Finet, *l.c.*, and Garelli (1975) 207–208. The firidng place of the inscription and its present whereabouts are not stated.

173. *A-lak harrani* (KASKAL). It may be a synonym of the preceding expression *sa-bal ku-du-u-ri* «carrying the basket» = «corvée» (cf. *CAD sub harrānu* 9a), or it may signify «field service» (Garelli, *l.c.*), or «messenger service.»

174. Irhulena (in his own hieroglyphic Hittite inscription Urhilena) was king of Hamath at the time of Shalmaneser III, first his staunch opponent and member of the Syrian league, later—as one could only guess before the disclosure of the new stele—a supporter of Assyria (that shift of policy took place not later than 843 B. C.)

175. (1975) 208.

176. *ARAB* II,: § 6 = Lie (1929) 10–11, 66–68.

177. Cf. Nougayrol (1962); (1970) ; Aynard and Nougayrol (1971); Athanassiou (1972). There were found Neo-Assyrian tablets, an amulet bearing the name of an Assyrian, a fragment of a stele of Esarhaddon. Perhaps the stele of Sargon reported by Nougayrol in the letter referred to in n. 172 above, also came from Rasm Tanjara.

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Abbreviations

AfO Archiv fur Orientforschung

AHw Wolfram von Soden, *Akkadisches Handworterbuch.* Three volumes. Wiesbaden 1965–1981.

AIPHOS Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histore Orientales et Slaves.

AJA American Journal of Archaeology

AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature

ANET James B. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* Third edition, revised ,with supplement. Princeton 1969.

AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament

ARAB Daniel David Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia.* Two volumes. Chicago 1927.

BA Biblical Archaeologist

BH Biblia Hebraica

CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Chicago 1956—

CAH The Cambridge Ancient History. Ten volumes, five Volumes of plates. Cambridge 1923–1939.

CAH[3] *The Cambridge Ancient History.* Third edition of volumes I and II. Cambridge 1971–1975.

Dennis G. Pardee

Universiy of Chicago – U. S. A.

UGARITIC AND HEBREW POETIC PARALLELISM

In this communication I wish to continue my overview of Northwest Semitic poetry[1] with a brief look at parallelism. To some extent this communication constitutes a response to my own call for increased study of parallelism as the principal structural device in Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry.[2] In my previous study I claimed that meter, in the stricte tense of the term at least, was not the constitutive feature of Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry. Rather, it was claimed, parallelism is the constitutive feature of Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry, with the parallelism expected to fit into certain quantitative bounds too loosely defined to merit the appellation meter. Thus I considered Bishop Lowth to be correct when, well over two conturies ago now, he claimed that *parallelismus membrorum* was the principal feature of Hebrew poetry[3] and, in my opinion, attempts since that time to discover a metrical system within Hebrew have all been in vain.

Until relatively recently, Lowth's main categories of parallelism (synonymous, antithetic, synthetic[4]) were accepted as a sufficient catalogue of forms. The third category, synthetic, was often felt to be too all–embracing[5], but the overall approach was considered satisfactory, especially when the varieties of formal distribution of the parallel elements were explored [6]. In the last fifty years, however, two other types of parallelism have received increased recognition and more refined distinctions have been proposed for analyzing the previously recognized forms of parallelism.

The first of these other facets of parallelism to receive recognition as a major constitutive feature of (at least early) Northwest Semitic poetry was repetitive parallelism. In the broad sense of the term, all parallelism is a form of repetition, at least in the cases of synonymous and antithetic parallelism[7](for parallelistic devices used to strengthen «synthetic» parallelism, see below at «Distribution of Parallelisms»). In its narrow sense, however, the phrase «repetitive parallelism» is used to refer to the verbatim repetition of the same word, though even here problems of definition arise as to the relationship between repetitive parallelism and paronomasia. W. F. Albright claimed to have first emphasized the importance of repetitive parallelism in Ugaritic poetry[8] and in his major work on Canaanite–Hebrew relatioships he uses repetitive parallelism as a typological device for dating Hebrew

poetry[9]. M. Dahood included repetitive parallelism in his catalogue of parallel pairs found in both Ugaritic and Hebrew[10], though in his introductory remarks in defense of this inclusion he went beyond empirics to polemics.[11]

Two remarks are necessary to place the use of repetitive parallelism in the broader context of parallelism as a structural device. First repetitive parallelism is not a monolithic device including only absolutely verbatim repetition It, like any other poetic device, may be varied so as to appear in different lights. The least controversial form of variation occurs when the basic grammatical form of the word to be repeated is maintained, with change provided, for example, by the distribution of a prefixed preposition, an added pronominal suffix, or a different mood in the verb (e. g. ʿnt I 10 – 11 *bdh// bklʾat ydh* [*b–vs. b–...*] A more extensive change involves a like grammatical form but with the change effected in the form of the word itself (e.g., ʿnt I 10–11 *bdh//ydh*[*badihu//yadêhu* ?]; ʿnt I 15,23 [distant parallelism] *tʿn.....yʿn*; ʿnt I 23–24 *bn th//bt*). Finally, there are cases of repetition of forms from therame root but of different grammatical categories (e. g., ʿnt I 17 *ymsk bmskh*). All these forms of repetitive parallelism involve various forms of *figurae etymologicae* but, with the last especially, we are also approaching paronomasia and the validity of the term « repetitive parallelism » is at least partially tied up in the problem of root perception in the ancient world[12].

The second remark with respect to repetitive parallelism is that, with the exception of the third category of variation just mentioned, it brings together all other forms of parallelism; repetitive parallelism, in the narrow sense or the term being used here, brings together into one pair of words semantic, grammatical (both morphological and syntatic), and phonetic parallelism. (Even with the grammatical parallelism excluded, repetitive parallelism constitutes a great concentration of like elements.) Thus repetitive parallelism functions as the strongest recall device in distant parallelism: if the same word is repeated at ten lines' distance it is more likely to be noted than another word meaning the same thing, than a like grammatical form with different meaning, or than the repetition of a single sound or grouping of sounds. In the sample Ugaritic text analyzed as the basis for this paper (ʿnt I), repetitive parallelism was found to be the strongest linking device, used for binding units together as small as the half-line (*ymsk bmskh*, 1.17), and as large as eight bicola (*qm ... qm*, 11. 4, 18).

Semantic parallelism has, of course, been recognized for the longest time and has received the greatest amount of attention in traditional Biblical studies. For the purposes of the present discussion I wish to focus on three recent aspects of the study of semantic parallelism.[13] The first feature to be discussed is the increased study of varieties of semantic parallelism. The

need for further categorization arose from the recognition that Lowth's three categories were so all-comprehensive as to contain little probitive value. Many attempts have been made over the years to improve on Lowth's categories. I will only cite here one recent example which appears to be as useful as any proposed to date. S. A. Geller, in his published dissertation *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry*[14], to which repeated reference will be made below in discussing grammatical parallelism, has set forth six main categories (synonym, list, autonym, merism, identity, and metaphor) with «synonym» and «list» each having several sub-categories (under «synonym» appear epithet, proper noun, and pronoun; and under «list» appear whole-part, concrete-abstract, and number). This new break-down of forms of semantic parallelism is a modernization of Lowth's system, in which «list» partially overlaps with Lowth's «synonymous» and «synthetic,»[15] including repetivitive parallelism («identity»), and refining some of the categories which formerly would have been forced into the «synonym» or «antonym» categories (e. g. «merism»: is the parallelism of 'heaven' and earth' synonymous or antithetic? However that may be, it is certainly merismous.) Attempts at refinement of the semantic categories of parallelism such as Geller has proposed are certainly to be applauded as forcing us to reject the fuzzy thinking which results from an attempt to press too many features into too few categories of classification.

The second aspect of modern research into the nature of semantic parallelism is the relationship of parallelism and tradition. This has come to the fore since the discovery of the Ugaritic poetic texts, with their many resemblances to Hebrew poetry. In simplest form the controversy is this: Did the Northwest Semitic poets have at their disposal a «thesaurus» of parallel pairs into which they could delve according to need or did they work with a «principle of parallelism» which allowed them to create parallel pairs as needed?

The history of the discussion has been admirably presented as the introductory chapter in William R. Watter's book *Formula Criticism and the Poetry of the Old Testament.*[16] There Watters describes how the separate strains of study into Yugoslavian and Homeric formulaic poetry (M. Parry, A. B. Lord [17]) and of Hebrew/Ugaritic parallelism (H. L. Ginsberg, U. Cassuto, M. Held, S. Gevirtz[18]) were brought together in the study of Hebrew parallelism as formulaicly derived (R. C. Culley. W. Whallon[19]). The most important steps in this development were: 1) Culley's attempt to discover a Homeric – style formulaic system in the Psalter[20]; 2) The early discoveries in the likeness of Ugaritic and Hebrew parallelistic devices (perhaps best summed up in Held's dissertation[21]); 3) Gevirtz' application of the concept of traditional pairs to the text criticism of the Hebrew Bible[22] and, to a lesser extent, to that of the Ugaritic texts.[23] The conception of the North-

west Semitic poets as working with a collection of formulae and «fixed pairs» has reached its logical high–point in the work of W. Whallon, who sees the product of any given poet as almost entirely based on tradition with very little creative input[24] and of M. Dahood who speaks of a « dictionary of paired words» and «the Canaanite thesaurus from whose resources Ugaritic and Hebrew poets alike drew,»[25] and who proceeds to reproduce such a dictionary.[26] In summing up this trend, Watters uses the phrases «stockpile» and « rigidly fixed container of acceptable word pairs ».[27]

The theory of a «thesaurus » of «fixed» pairs or of fixed phrases has been countered with the theory that the poet was not working with a collection of individual pairs and phrases, but with the *principle* of parallelism: « We believe that once the principle of parallelism has been adopted, the creation of many of these pairs took place in a spontaneous, quite natural way.»[28] « Given that parallelism is employed in both Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry, it is to be expected *a priori* that common synonyms, antonyms and complementary terms would be employed in pairs in both literatures...[29]» «We shall end our discussion with the conclusion that word pairs which *repeat* are common associations fostered by limited vocabulary. Those pairs which *do not repeat* were probably created by the author with which they are found »[30].

Let me conclude this portion of my overview by remarking that the reaction of scholars such as de Moor and van der Lugt, Craigie, and Watters is salutary and necessary. The modern images of «dictionary», «thesaurus», and «stockpiles» have a scholastic aura about them and they fail to account for the high quality of the works of art which, under close examination, the Northwest Semitic poems reveal themselves to be[31]. On the other hand, these criticisms appear to me to vacillate to the other extreme of the pendulum: Though Craigie expresses himself very circumspectly, Watters allows for virtually no influence of tradition in the choice of a given parallel pair. At most he speaks of «borrowing» (i. e., one poet borrowing from another)[32] and «idiom.»[33] I would prefer to have seen a much more extensive discussion of how borrowing would have taken place and of just that Watters means by « idiom» in the context of parallel pairs and repeated phrases. For it appears to me impossible to rule tradition out of poetic production in an ancient society – just as impossible as to rule creativity completely out of an artistic production. Though the extent of each element is certainly variable, and though the study of traditionalism is more the work of anthropologists and sociologists rather than of philologists, it is nonetheless inconceivable to me to devise a theory of artistic production which absolutely excludes either element. This said, however, I believe that we

must accept that it was the principle of parallelism which was the guiding principle of poetic production, rather than a hide – bound tradition, but that, at least in the forms of poetry which have come down to us, the production of poetry had reached a highly sophisticated level and traditional forms and usages had their place as a part of the poet's craft.[34]

The third feature of semantic parallelism which has come to the fore in recent years but which still merits a great deal more study is its international character. This aspect was mentioned in earlier studies[35] but new progress hasbeen made in recent years with the conscious seeking out in other Semitic languages of parallel pairs which are cognate or equivalent to the Ugatitic – Hebrew pairs.[36] According to Watters, S. E. Loewenstamm and Y. Avishur are preparing a catalogue of all the parallel pairs which occur in Hebrew. Ugaritic, Akkadian, and Aramaic.[37] This work should eventually be broadened to include the other Semitic languages and to include the study of parallelistic devices in Semitic languages which rely on poetic devices other than parallelism as main structural features (meter, rhyme, etc.). And, finally, once the Semitic picture becomes clear, the various aspects of parallelism within the Semitic languages should be compared with the uses of parallelism in other linguistic groups. Such broad studies may do something to cure the study of Northswest Semitic poetry of the narrow provincialism from which it now suffers.[38]

Let us pass now to the third and newest area of study of parallelism: grammatical parallelism. First, it is important to see what we mean by « grammatical parallelism ». Roman Jakobson, in his article most often cited by students of Semitic poetics[39], « Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet, »[40] may confuse the first–time reader by launching immediately into a discussion of classical *parallelismus membrorum*– which most of us identify with semantic parallelism. Jakobson makes clear later in his article that, whatever he may mean by the specific phrase « grammatical parallelism», he sees parallel structures at all levels of language:

> Pervasive parallelism inevitably activates all the levels of language – the distinctive features, inherent and prosodic, the morphologic and syntactic categories and forms, the lexical units and their semantic classes in both their convergences and divergences acquire an autonomous poetic value. This focusing upon phonological, grammatical, and semantic structures in their multiform interplay does not remain confined to the limits of parallel lines but expands throughout their distribution within the entire context; therefore the grammar of parallelistic pieces becomes particularly significant. The symmetries of the paired

> lines in turn vivify the question of congruences in the narrower margins of paired hemistichs and in the broader frame of successive distichs. The dichotomous principle underlying the distich may develop into a symmetrical dichotomy of much longer strings...[41].

Jakobson includes various forms of phonetic parallelism with the more generally recognized forms of parallelism, explicitly of separating only rhyme.:

> Rhyme has been repeatedly characterized as a condensed parallelism, but rigorous comparison of rhyme and pervasive parallelism shows that there is a fundamental difference. The *phonemic* equivalence of rhyming words is compulsory, whereas the linguistic level of any correspondence between two parallelled terms is subject to a free choice. The fluctuating distribution of different linguistic levels between variables and invariants imparts a highly diversified character to parllelistic poetry and provides it with ample opportunities to individualize the parts and to group them with respect to the wholes.[42]

Indeed, from a perusal of some Jakobson's treatments of poetry, one realizes that for him any one level of analysis is insufficient.[43]

The two scholars who have proposed forms of analysis of Northwest Semitic poetry (Hebrew poetry in both cases) on the basis of grammatical parallelism have made a clear distinction between semantic and grammatical parallelism. T. Collins [44] specifically downplays the results of semantic analysis in the introduction to his method, while S. A. Geller[45] analyzes both semantic and grammatical parallelism, but as separate steps in the overall process. There are further differences between the two systems of analysis: Collins' analysis is almost uniquely syntatic (rather than morphological and/or phonetic) and within the larger category of syntax, centered on the phenomenon of word order. Thus he analyzes every poetic unit according to only four categories: subject, verb, object, and modifier phrases. All lesser categories are subsumed under these four major categories. Then the order of these constituents is observed and the various attested structures are analyzed and grouped together into «line–types». Geller's system, on the other hand, incorporates a very minute description of the poetic unit according to standard morphologico–syntactic analysis (subject, object, adverb; transitive verb, intransitive verb, passive/reflexive verb; participle, subject of nominal sentence, predicate of nominal sentence, etc., with eighteen additional features noted). This precise analysis enables him to note very explicitly the grammatical relationship of the two halves of a poetic line and,

more explicitly, to note exactly which elements are present in one line and missing from another («deletion»). On the other hand, his final «formula» for the poetic structure of a line is based primarily on semantic considerations rather than on grammatical ones (i. e., it does not note verb //verb but semantic content of verb // semantic of verb). Moreover, in his analysis and in his final « formula » Geller includes «metrical» information. One point in common between Collins' and Geller's systems is that neither is capable of noting parallelistic structures that extend beyond the individual poetic unit (bicolon or tricolon).

Since these systems are new and since I have spent time applying them to my sample Ugaritic text,[46] it may be of use for me to give a brief initial impression. Collins' system has the advantage of focusing quite sharply on one aspect of parallelism and of doing it well. Moreover, though Geller's system may do more things, it does not do the one thing that Collins' system does; thus they are complementary rather than overlapping. Collins' system suffers however, from the limitations imposed by the tight focus:1) His devaluating of traditional semantic analysis cannot in any way replace it. 2) His own system can only include about 40% of Hebrew poetry in its notation – it should be expanded to include a higher percentage of the corpus. 3) By its limitation to the higher orders of syntax and to word order, it cannot take into its purview all the other levels of poetic analysis which Geller's system and modern work in poetics have shown to be so important.

In its inclusiveness, Geller's system as system is superior to Collins'. As it includes three of the main areas of poetic analysis, meter, semantics, and grammar, it has made a giant step towards a more comprehensive method of describing Northwest Semitic poetry It is far from being perfect, however. 1) The first criticism I have regards only the format of Geller's system: it is too compact, including much information in too few symbols. Not only does it take a great deal of effort and concentration to decipher the sigla and formulae by which the analysis is noted, but some of the notations themselves verge on the ambiguous (especially the notation of compound phrases). The elegance of a compact system has a great deal to say for it, but the general usefulness and communicative value for students of poetry being analyzed must also be considered and, in my opinion, relatively few students are going to take the time to master Geller's notational system. 2) Alongside the first criticism must be placed another: For all that it notes, Geller's system still does not note enough. It is too linked to the individual poetic unit to touch on any type of feature which may link two poetic units (enjambement, relativization, cross-unit parallelism etc.)[47] Moreover, it includes no notation of phonetic parallelism. Thus Geller's system notes what it notes too compactly but it does not note enough.

I submit that there is not a compact solution to the problem of a notation for Northwest Semitic poetry. Only an analysis of the intricacies of structure will reveal the depths of meaning[48], and, at least at the present state of Hebrew–Ugaritic poetic analysis, these intricacacies must be made clear to an audience previously more interested in content than in form (and thus primed to miss the indissolubility of the two). Such a detailed analysis must include an analysis of the individual poetic unit and of the structure of a given work as a whole (and eventually, of course, of the place of the work within the literary and cultural world from which it sprang) .It must include considerations of quantitative/rhythmic measure («meter» to the extent that it exists); of semantic relationships at all levels of the work; of grammatical relationships, including morphlogical and syntactic relationships, at all levels of the work; and of phonetic relationships (to the extent that a sound pattern may be perceived as a structural device)[49]. It is, however, simply too much to ask of any one notational system to include all of the information garnered from these different analyses. I see no other solution than to include in one's analysis a different notation for each level of interpretation: repetitive, semantic, grammatical and phonetic parallelism, in some cases with more than one notation for each category, for example, the major rubrics of my analysis of *ʿnt* I are the following:

- Text
- Vocalization
- Translation
- Quantitative analysis
  - Word count
  - Syllable count
  - Vocable count
  - « Verse – units »[50]
- Repetitive parallelism
  - Distribution
  - Grammatical forms
- Semantic parallelism
  - Distribution
  - Grammatical forms
- Grammatical parallelism
  - Collins

Geller

Kaiser[51]

Parallelism of minor elements[52]

Positional parallelism

Phonetic parallelism

Consonants

Vowels

Length compensation

Distributions of parallelism

What I find important about these multiple notations is that new insights into the structure of the text in question emerged from each of the analyses behind the notations. There is no doubt that I have reached the point of diminishing returns in parallelistic analysis and that further notations would add relatively little to the perception of the text in question, but the fact remains that I have gained new insights from each level of analysis and my notational system is sufficiently redundant to convey this information to anyone who knows Ugaritic. The difficulty, of course, is that the analysis ends up being far longer than the work being analyzed. At the present time I see no solution to this problem. A Hebrew or Ugaritic poem is a work of art and works of art have elicited floods of comment since the dawn of criticism.[53] Should the situation be different for Northwest Semitic poetry?

Allow me to proceed now to my plea for increased attention to certain neglected aspects of parallelism. It should be made clear immediately that these aspects have been included in one another of the previous discussions of parallelism in one form or another; my plea is, therefore, not based on total neglect, but is in favor of a consistently detailed treatment.

1. *Parallelism of minor elements*. Here I refer to those elements which are usually not included in a stress–count or word–count metrical system and which tend, therefore, to be passed over in the study of parallelism. They are included in Geller's descriptive notation of poetic lines, but are not included in his final formula. Dahood, in *Ras Shamra Parallels*,[54] regularly notes the particles, especially when these are in repetitive parallelism. I have noted several such parallelisms in ʿnt I, a text which makes very light use of particles. These include repetitive and semantic parallelisms (they are all grammatically parallel) in all distributions (see below at § 5). Two, espe-

cially, serve as markers of one of the principal structural elements of this poem and are thus worthy of citation and comment here:

L 1.4–5) *qm yṯʿr*	He arises, prepares,
wyšlḥmnh	And causes him to eat.
8–9) *ndd yʿšr*	He arises, serves,
wysqynh	And causes him to drink.
18–19) *qm ybd wyšr*	He arises, chants, and sings;
mṣltm bd nʿm	Cymbals (are) in the hands of the goodly one.

The structure of these lines is clearly and unequivocally marked out by the three–verb sequence in each, but the repetition and positioning of the *w*–, before the third verb and the third verb only, in each case, as well as the pronominal suffix on the third verb in the first two bicola (transitive verbs), lends a nice touch, rounding out the structure, making it precisely parallel in a number of respects.

A second fairly clear structural use of a minor element is the repetition of the 3 m. s. pronominal suffix – *(n)h* in 11.5–11, where *bʿl* is in each case the antecedent. The use of the pronoun tends to bind together the 'serving' unit (11.2–11) and the repetition of the suffix in 1.17 binds together the 'drink' unit (11.10–17) with the 'serving unit'. The perfection of the structure appears broken by the suffix on *ltphnh* in 1.14, which has *ks* as its antecedent, rather than *bʿl*. Here « positional parallelism » (see next section) comes into play, however, for in all cases where the antecedent of the suffixed pronoun is *bʿl* the word carrying the pronoun is in final position in its half–line, while *ltphnh*, with *ks* as its antecedent, is not in final position.

2) *Positional parallelism.* I do not expect this term to become a primary one in the description of Northwest Semitic parallelism for it is not frequently useful as a descriptive tool. It only refers to the positioning in a poetic line of the respective elements. Thus a «typical» line a b c // a' b' c' exhibits semantic and grammatical parallelism as well as «positional» parallelism (i. e., the parallel terms are in the same respective positions). If the semantic and grammatical parallelism of such a«typical» line is strong, the concept of position is exceptionally useful. If, on the other hand, one of the major parallelistic features is missing, the relative position of the words appears to carry the parallelistic load. Take, for example,

'alp kd yqḥ bhmr one thousand *kd* – measures he takes from the *hmr* – wine,

rbt ymsk bmskh Ten thousand he mixes into his mixture.

(ᶜnt I 15–17)

It is not until one breaks the parallelism down into its various components (or until one seeks out other instances of the parallelisms) that one realizes that *yqḥ* (*lqḥ*) and (*y*)*msk* make a very poor semantic pair. It is a combination of various other types of parallelism which permit this pair, so semantically dissimilar, to function as a parallel pair: internal repetitive parallelism (*ymsk bmskh*), grammatical parallelism (*yqḥ*//*ymsk*), and, finally, positional parallelism. The two words are so locked into their respective positions that *yqḥ* and *ymsk* are almost automatically labelled as b and b' until one considers their semantic dissimilarity.

Another part of ᶜnt I which responds to the concept of positional parallelism is the bicolon in ll. 18–19:

qm ybd wyšr	He arises, chants, and sings;
mṣltm bd nᶜm	Cymbals (are) in the hands of the goodly one.

The positional parallelism is here operative on several levels. First, in the three–verb sequence which is like that already discussed in ll.4–5 and 8–9: the repetitive (*qm*, l. 4) and semantic parallelism (*ndd*, l. 8) of the first verb of l. 18 with that of the previous similar bicola, linked with the unsual poetic structure of three verbs in sequence, provides a combination of repetitive, semantic, grammatical, and positional parallelism that leaves little doubt about the structural significance of l. 18. There remains, however, the problem of l. 19, which shows no semantic or semantic or grammatical parallelism with l. 18. Here one may expand the position of a larger unit within the larger structure: rather than one word being locked into the structure by its position within a colon, we have here an entire half–line which is locked into place by the surrounding structure. This is visible in a least two features of the surrounding text: a) Ll. 18–19 are surrounded by otherwise clear bicola, making it likely that ll. 18–19 also form a bicolon b) The three–verb structure already discussed is, in each of its two previous occurrences, followed by a fourth verb beginning the next bicolon (*ybrd*, l. 6; *ytn*, l. 10). Here that slot is filled by *yšr* in l.20, coming after the unit formed by ll. 18–19. Notice further that this structure is strengthened by the fourth verb being repetitive of the third verb of the sequence (*yšr*, ll. 18,20). Thus l. 19 is so locked into the structure of the entire poem that it can exhibit a rather radical form of « synthetic » parallelism without becoming lost and turning into a true « orphan line ».

Finally, I recall your attention to the example of the 3 m. s. pronominal suffixes in 11.5,6,9,10–11,14,17,23, already mentioned in S1: in all cases where the antecedent is *b*ᶜ*l* the word bearing the pronomial suffix is in final position in its half-line; where the antecedent is *ks* (*ltphnh*, l. 14) the word is not in final position. Since the parallelism is one of minor elements, and since it would be almost too much to except so neat a pattern to be repeated frequently, one might discount the validity of the argument from position. There is no denying its presence in ᶜ*nt* I, however, and increased attention to such «minor» phenomena may open our eyes to intricacies of structure which would otherwise pass unnoticed.

3) *Phonetic parallelism.* I do not feel at home in the phonetic aspects of modern linguistic discussion and hope that I may be permitted to found my plea for increased attention to phonetic phenomena on reference to the work of such scholars as Roman Jakobson (see, most recently, *The Sound Shape of Language*, by Jakobson and Linda R. Waugh,[55] which is, of course just the latest in a long series of discussions by Jakobson of the phonetic aspect of linguistic and poetic structures[56]) . I may refer further to Margalit's claim, with respect to alliteration, that «To be significant, a letter should occur: (a) at least three times per several verse – unit verse; and/or (b) twice in a single word or once in each of two adjacent words (especially at the beginning); and/or (c) as a repeated sequence of two or more adjacent letters, not necessarily in the same order, and not necessarily in the scope of single word.[57]» Margalit's rules may indeed be valid, but we need more study by persons well attuned to modern linguistic study of phonetics before we can be sure of the ground on which we tread.

One special problem of the ancient Northwest Semitic languages is that of vowels, or rather the lack thereof. I have yet to see a discussion of the phonetic aspect of modern poetry that ignores the vocalic structure, yet that is precisely what we are forced to do, at least with Ugaritic, where the vowels must be almost entirely reconstructed–what one does with biblical Hebrew depends on one's perception of the reliability of the Masoretic vowel system. I would suggest that for Ugatitic poetry it is necessary to attempt a phonetic analysis based on the reconstructed vocalic system but that the practitioners of such an artificial analysis should be sure to state clearly the precarious nature of the evidence and hence of the results.

Finally, I must state that the necessity of noting the phonetic features of Ugaritic poetry was sharply impressed upon my mind by my very rudimentary phonetic analysis of the Ugaritic sample text examined for this study. Though I have reconstructed the vowels, no phonetic pattern emerged to my untutored eye except some sporadic cases of assonance. In the

case of consonantal patterning , however, at least one clear pattern emerged, that of *k* and *q* in the 'drink' section of *ˁnt* I (ll. 10–17):

ytn ks bdh	He puts a cup in his hand,
krpn bklˀat ydh	A goblet in his two hands;
bk rbˁẓm rˀi	A large vessel, mighty to look upon,
dnmt šmm	Belonging to the furnishings of the heaven
ks qdš ltphnh ˀaṯt	A holy cup (which) women may not see,
krpn ltˁn ˀaṯrt	A goblet (which) ˀAṯrirat may not eye.
ˀalp kd yqḥ bḫmr	One thousand *kd*– measures he takes from th *hmr* – wine.
rbt ymsk bmskh	Ten thousand he mixes into his mixture.

Since all the words for vessels here contain *k* it is fairly obvious that the phonetic play is meant to link sound and meaning. It is perhaps also worth noting that the second word for the drinking vessel contains a *r*, which also reappears rather frequently in the lines following the first appearance of *krpn*:

bk r*bˁẓm* r*'i*
dnmt smm
ks qds ltphnh ˀaṯt
krpn ltn ˀaṯrt
*'alp kd yqḥ bḫm*r
r*bt ymsk bmskh*

On a more restricted level, there appear to be several phonetic bonds within bicola:

ytn ks bdh	n//n; b//b; dh//dh
krpn bkl'at ydh	
bk rb ˁẓm r'i	m//m, mm
dnmt šmm	
ks qds ltphnh 'att	lt//lt; n//n, n;'aṯt//'aṯ–t
krpn ltˁn ˀaṯrt	
'alp kd yqḥ bḫmr	y//y; b//b; m//m, m
rbt ymsk bmskh	

Though several of these phonetic parallelisms are founded on repetitive parallelism, there is no discounting their existense. When the clear macro-binders (*k* & *q*, *r*) are linked with the inner – colonic binders, a surpising number of the consonants is seen to form patterns. I rest my case for phonetic parallelism here in the hope that someone more qualified to pursue such a study will do so.

4) *Length compensation.* C. H. Gordon long ago noted the phenomenon of « ballast variants, »[58] which he defined as follows: «If a major word in the first stichos is not paralleled in the second, then one or more of the words in the second stichos tend to be longer than their counterparts in the first stichos»[59] The most comprehensive recent study of length compensation of which I am aware is Geller's in *Parallelism in Early Biblical Poetry.* He carries out the study of compensation at two levels of his analysis, which he (correctly) terms «deletion – compensation.»[60] The deletion is noted first by adding the deleted element into the sentence which is reconstructed as underlying the poetic line, then the deletion is noted again in the final formula as a « missing » repetitive parallelism. For example, in

ytn ks bdh	He puts a cup in his hand,
krpn bkl'at ydh	A goblet in his two hands. (*ᶜnt* I 10 – 11)

the verb missing in the second line is noted as 'added' in the reconstructed sectence:

ytn ks bdh
(*ytn*) *krpn bkl'at ydh*[61]

Then the reconstructed repetitive parallel *ytn*//(*ytn*) is noted in the final formula, in parentheses to make its reconstructed nature clear.

The seond notational level of analysis for deletion – compensation is in the specific notation of the compounds wherein the compensation is to be found (in the above example *bdh*//*bkl'at ydh*). For this Geller has a complicated system of notation which includes marking of both semantic and metrical features (see above, the discussion of grammatical parallelism).

While warmly welcoming Geller's progress in noting compensation features, I would nonetheless make three brief criticims: 1) The notation of the compounds is too compact for the information contained therein to be readily assimilable (cf. above on this point); 2) The separating out of deletion (noted in the grammatical analysis) and compensation (noted in the compounding formulae) tends to obscure the inseparable relationship between

the two. In a notational system such as I am promoting here, where the various aspects of parallelism are analyzed and noted separately, there should be a place for analysis of deletion – compensation as two aspects of a single phenomenon. 3) Because the notational system used by Geller is already too charged, it cannot note, along with compounding and deletion – compensation, features of compensation or lack thereof which do not fall into those two categories. For example, in the text just cited, Geller's system would note that *bkl'at ydh* is an expansion of *bdh*, but it must pass to yet another section of the analysis (metrical information *per se*)[62] to note that *krpn* is also an expansion of *ks* (not noted with compensation because it corresponds to no deletion), one which happens to result in a quantative over – expansion (syllable – count = 8//10). I see no obvious reason why this form of compensation should be separated from deletion – compensation and compounding (the reason cannot be metrical, for no form of compensation results in consistent quantitative parallelism — see next paragraph). A separate descriptive analysis of all forms of compensation at one point of the analysis, with one chart or table grouping all phenomena, will not only represent deletion – compensation at least as clearly as Geller's system does but will also relate that phenomenon directly to other compensatory phenomena.

A final remark on all forms of length compensation : as I have noted previously[63], and as the present sample text has borne out the compensation as practiced does not lead to any form of quantative equality of the half-lines, but only to an approximate one[64] compatible with no form of quantitative meter other than perhaps a stress system (irrespective of syllable count).

5) *Distribution of parallelisms.* Various authors have made use of the concept of inclusion (or' inclusio' or 'envelope construction' — a poetic work or poetic unit beginning and ending with the same figure[65]) and chiasmus (i. e., the chiastic arrangement of a poetic work or poetic unit[66]) in discussing the larger structure of Northwest Semitic poetic works. My intention here is to discuss phenomena of parallelism in terms of the larger structure, rather than uniquely in terms in terms of individual poetic units. This is one area of analysis that neither Geller's system not Collins' touches in any way. Collins makes an attempt[67] to treat some extended poetic units, but always in terms of the individual poetic unit, while Geller's system is entirely devoted to the analysis of the individual poetic unit (even a tricolon must be analyzed as two bicola: 1+2, then 2+3). From the analysis of *ʿnt* I, I have become convinced that any analysis of the parallelistic structure of a poetic text must include an analysis of parallelism at all distances.

Repetitive macro – structures have been noted for some time (e. g., the command – fulfillment structure of the *krt* text; the house–motif in the *bʿl* epic) and these must, of course, continue to be noted. I am here, however, referring to parallelistic techniques much like the ones with which we are familiar from traditional studies and from more modern studies such as Collins' and Geller's but which are not restricted to the single poletic unit).

An obvious categorization of the distribution of parallelism is the following: 1) Half – line parallelism; 2) inner – colonic («regular») parallelism; 3) near parallelism (that of elements of contiguous poetic units); 4) distant parallelism (that of elements of two or more units separated from each other by at least one other poetic unit).

The second category, inner – colonic parallelism, is so well known that my only burden at this point is to make a very strong impression to the effect that it is not the only variety of parallelism.

Half–line parallelism[68] has no part in either Collins' or Geller's systems (Collins treats half–line parallelism of major constituents as a«variation» on his line–forms; Geller's formula has no way of noting it, being uniquely concerned with the relationship between half–lines). Half–line parallelism corresponds in part to Dahood's«juxtaposition» and«collocation»[69] though both these forms of 'parallelism' may occur in distributions other than half–line parallelism.[70]

In the sample text upon which this discussion is based, there are three clear cases of half–line parallelism, all three cases of juxtaposition according to Dahood's teminology. Two are sematic grammatical parallelisms, one is repetitive:

bk rb ʿẓm r'i (1.12)

rbt ymsk bmskh (1.17)

qm ybd wyšr (1.18)

In each case, the surrounding parallelistic features are not the most regular, indicating that half – line parallelism may be one device used to strengthen a structure otherwise lacking in cohesiveness . In the first case the bicolon is in syntactic continuity with the preceding and following bicola and does not itself exhibit «regular» parallelism. In the second case the grammatical parallelism *yqḥ ymsk* does not rest on a strong semantic basis and the internal repetitive parallelism in the second half–line (*ymsk bmskh*) appears to be compensating for the weakness of the semantic link between *yqḥ* and

ymsk. Finally, in the third example, 1.18 is half of a bicolon, but it represents the three-verb structure which twice above constituted a complete bicolon (11.4–5, 8–9); moreover, there is not «regular» semantic or grammatical parallelism in this bicolon (11. 18–19). Thus, once again, the half-line parallelism appears to be supporting a structure otherwise lacking in cohesiveness. There is yet a fourth case of half-line parallelism, this of minor elements: ᶜl . . . *b* in l. 21. The strength given to a structure by minor elements of this kind is probably not the same as that of major semantic and grammatical parallelisms, but it is nonetheless to be noted that this fourth example of half-line parallelism does occur in a bicolon lacking «regular» parallelism. Thus all four cases of half-line parallelism in this sample text appear to have a comparable function. A much larger sample is needed, of course, before a definitive statement can be made as to the function of half-line parallelism.

Passing now to near parallelism, it is worth noting immediately that three out of the four cases of half-line parallelism occur in bicola also characterized by near parallelism:

rʾi . . tphnh//*tᶜn* (11. 12, 14–15; cf. *rb*+ᶜ*ẓm*,1.12)

ybd . . . *yšr* (11.18, 20) and

yšr . . . *yšr* (11. 18, 20; cf. *ybd* + *yšr*, 1.18, and ᶜ*l*+*b*, 1.21)

nᶜm . . . *ṭb* (– 11. 19, 20; cf. *ybd* + *yšr*; 1.18, and ᶜ*l*+*b*, 1.21)

This distribution appears further to strengthen my tentative conclusion that half-line parallelism is used to strengthen othewise weak poetic units. It may now be added that near parallelism may also be used to shore up these same «weaker» units by providing semantic and grammatical links to surrounding structures which may in some cases be stronger. (Or the intermingling of «irregular» parallelistic features may be sufficient to provide strength, as in the case of the two – bicola in 11. 18–22, which both lack «regular» parallelism, but which are characterized by half-line, near, and distant parallelism, repetitive, semantic, and grammatical).

Other cases of near parallelism:

ᶜ*bd*//*sʾid* . . . *ytᶜr*//*yšḥmnh* (11. 2–3,4–5)

yᶜšr//*yšqynh* . . . *ytn ks* (11. 9, 10)

–h . . . *–h* . . . *–h* . . . *–h*//*–h* . . . *–h* . . . *–h* (11. 5,6, 9, 10–11, 14, 17)[71]

ks//*krpn* . . . *bk* . . . *ks*//*krpn* . . . *kd* (11. 10–11, 12 , 13–14, 16)

bᶜl . . . *bᶜl* (11. 21, 22)

It is already clear from the two forms of «non – regular» parallelism already discussed, and it will become clearer from the following listing of distant parallelism, that these near parallelisms may be quite independant of other attachments (*n^{c}m... tb*, 11.19,20) or they may be linked with other parallelism devices as part of complex structures stertching over several cola.
Let us examine immediately the cases of distant parallelism:

b^{c}l//^{c}bl ... b^{c}l ... b^{c}l (11.3,21,22)

qm... ndd... qm (11.4,8,18)

yṯ^{c}r//yšlḥmnh ... y^{c}šr yšqynh (11.4–5, 9)

w + – nh ... w + – nh ... w (11.5,9,18)

ks//krpn ... bk ... ks//krpn ... kd (11.10/11,12,13–14,16)[72]

–d– //*yd... – d* (11.10 – 11,19)

ytn (*ks*) ... (*kd*) *yqḥ* (11.10,16)

r'i ... tphnh//t^{c}n ... ytmr//y^{c}n (11.12,14–15,22–23)

There are also cases of distant parallelism of other minor elements which do not occur in otherwise clear structures (the preposition *b* and the 3 m. s. suffix –h).[73]

Some time spent examining this list in the context of the entire poem and of the other distributions of parallelism will leave little doubt, I believe, that parallelism in its repetitive, semantic, and grammatical aspects may operate over three and more poetic units with no difficulty. It is doubtful, however, that the other types of parallelism (phonetic, that of minor elements) can function over distances without the help of intervening like structures and insert or without the help of other structural devices in the distant units. For example, I am dubious that the phonetic parallelism of *ks* and *kd* in 11. 10 and 16 would be picked up without the intervening examples of phonetic, semantic, and grammatical parallelism in 11. 11–15. Or, for another example, the structural significance of *w + nh ... w – nh ... w* in 11. 5, 9,18 clear because of the structure of the three bicola (supported by repetitive, semantic, and grammatical parallelism), while the structural significance of the eight – fold repetition of the 3 m. s. suffix is blurred because it does not fit a single pattern in all eight occurrences.

We may see, therefore, in the use of distant parallelism, as oppcsed to the other types of parallelism which include elements of physical contiguity, a hierarchy of types of parallelism based on structural strength. Repetitive parallelism is the strongest form of parallelism and can provide an outline

for a relatively small unit such as *ᶜnt* I with no difficulty. (More extensive repetitive parallelism, such as command – performance sequences, is able to bind together much longer units.) Semantic parallelism is next in strength; it is most visible in the present text when linked nith other forms of parallelism (e. g., *qm... ndd... qm*). Grammatical parallelism alone is of little significance (i. e., the fact that a verb occurs in 1. 2 and another in 1. 22 says very little about the structure of the poem), though it is very clearly linked with repetitive and semantic parallelism to form distant parallelisms in the same way that it contributes to the parallelism of individual poetic units. A grammatical analysis of the type done by Collins will produce «line – types» which may be used as diagnostic indicators of repeated syntactic structures. It is doubtful here also, though, that these line – types would be indicative of parallelistic macro-structures unless semantic and/or repetitive parallelism were included.[74]

Finally, from the sample text there are no clear instances of inclusio or chiasmus of macro – structure. There is one distant parallelism which is chiastic in form (*ytn ks ... kd yqḥ*), but this is a rather obscure element of the overall structure. Though one might be tempted to see the repetitive parallelism of *bᶜl* in 11. 2–3 and 21, 22, as an inclusio, the distribution of this particular repetition is probably owing to the state of the tablet rather the to the desire to construct an inclusio (i. e., it is likely that these repetitions of the divine name are sequential within the lager poem rather than initial and terminative within a particular lesser structure). There are some cases of A B A macro – structures which might be seen as envelope constructions (*qm... ndd... qm;ks//krpn. bk... ks//krpn*), but the last element in each case is followed by further elements in the structure and is thus not terminative (*qm ... ndd ... qm... ysr ... ysr; ks//krpn ... bk ... ks//krpn ... kd*). These A B A structures are not, therefore, discrete units, followed by different discrete units, though they may perhaps be described as overlapping envelope constructions.

Conclusion:

From this presentation it should be clear that I am calling for a close and detailed analysis of the parallelisic structure of Ugaritic and Hebrew poetry. This position is based on consideration both theoretical (we need a detailed analysis to pierce the obscurity of distance in time and culture) and empirical (I have learned more from close analysis than I did from a more intuitive reading). At some point this detailed analysis of parallelisic structures needs to be allied with analyses from the perspectives of psycho–linguistics and theory of literature in order to determine to what extent the many devices which emerge from detailed analysis were explicitly recognized

and consciously practiced.[75] Though such question are of great interest, they are not necessarily relevant to an analysis with modern methods and insights, for such an analysis may proceed to identify« what is there» before, after, or during an analysis of what the poet perceived as« being there».[76]

Appendix: ʿnt I

Text[77]	*Translation*
2... bʿd. 'al'iyn 3bʿl.	He serves mighty Baal,
s'id . zbl. bʿl 4 arṣ.	Regales the Prince, lord of the earth.
qm . yṯʿr	He arises, prepares,
5w . yslḥmnh	And causes him to eat.
6ybrd . td . lpnwh	He cuts the breast before him,
7bḥrb . mlḥt qṣ . mr'i	With a salted knife (does he cut) a slice of fatling.
ndd9yʿšr	He arises, serves,
wyšqynh	And causes him to drink.
10tn . ks . bdh	He puts a cup in his hand,
krpn . bklʾat . ydh	A goblet in his two hands;
12bk rb . ʿẓm . rʾi	A large vessel, mighty to look upon,
dn13 mt . šmm	Belonging to the furnishings of the heavens;
ks . qdš14 ltphnh . 'aṯt .	A holy cup (which) women may not see,
krpn15 ltʿn . 'aṯrt.	A goblet (which) ʾAtirat may not eye.
'alp 16kd . lqḥ . bḫmr	One thousand *kd* – measures he takes from the *ḫmr* – wine.
17rbt . ymsk . bmskh	Ten thousand he mixes into his mixture.
18qm . ybd . wyšr	He arises, chants, and sings;
19mṣltm. bd . nʿm	Cymbals (are) in the hands of the goodly one.
20yšr . ģzr . ṭb . ql	The good – voiced youth sings
21ʿl . bʿl . bṣrrt22 ṣpn.	For Baal in the heights of Ṣapan.
ytmr . bʿl bnth.	Baal sees his daughters,
yʿn . pdry 24bt . ʾar.	Eyes Pidra, daughter of light.

NOTES

1 – Cf. D. Pardee, «Ugaritic and Hebrew Metrics,» in *Ugarit in Retrospect: Fifty Years of Ugarit and Ugaritic* (Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbraun, 1981).

2 – See the conclusion to the article just cited (n. 1).

3 – G. B. Gray, *The Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (New York: Ktav, 1972 reprint of 1951 edition) 48 – 49.

4 – Cf. Gray, ibid; Robert G. Boling, «'Synonymous' parallelism in the Psalms,» *JSS* 5(1960) 221 – 255, esp. 221.

5 – Gray, ibid, pp. 49 – 52.

6 – Gray, ibid., pp. 64–83; Louis I. Newman, « Parallelism in Amos,» in *Studies in Biblical Parallelism* by Louis I. Newman and William Popper (University of California Publications: Semitic Philology, vol. 1, nos. 2 and 3, pp. 57–444; August 6, 1918) 137 – 185.

7 – See, for example, Roman Jakobson, « Grammatical Parallelism and its Russian Facet,» *Language* 42 (1966) 399–429, esp. 399–40. For some idea of parallelistic devices in other traditions, see Ruth Finnegan, *Oral Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 98–109; Heda Jason, *Ethnopoetry* (Bonn: Linguistica Biblica Bonn, 1977) 65–66; Vladimir N. Toporov, « William Butler Yeats: Down by the salley gardens. An Analysis of the Structure of Repetition,» *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive poetics and Theory of Literature* 3 (1978): 95–115; John S. Miletich, « Oral – Traditional Style and Learned Literature: A New Perspective,» *PTL* 3 (1978) 345–356.

8 – *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1969 [Anchor Edition]) 5, n. 10. Here he refers to a pre – Ugaritic article of his («The Earliest Forms of Hebrew Verse,» *JPOS* 2 1922, 69 – 86) but gives no reference supporting his antecedence over Ginsberg in recognizing repetitive parallelism in Ugaritic.

9 – For Albright as a typologist, see Frank Moore Cross, Jr., » William Foxwell Albright: Orientalist,» *BASOR* 200 (1970) 7–10, esp. 9–10. The existence of the phenomenon of repetitive parallelism must, of course, be kept rigorously separate from use of the phenomenon as a typological dating device. The existence of the phenomenon is proven without doubt by the Ugaritic poetic corpus, but, to my knowledge, only Albright has attempted to turn the device into a dating technique (though his conclusions are accepted to various degrees by his students). It should be noted that his sampling of Hebrew poetry was small and, in part at least, predetermined by other considerations.

10 – « Ugaritic – Hebrew Parallel Pairs,» pp. 71–382 in *Ras Shamra Parallels* vol. 1 (L. R. Fisher, ed.; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1972), and pp. 1–39 in vol. 2 (1975).

11 – *RSP I* (1972) 79–80.

12 – Cf. James Barr, *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (Oxford: University Press, 1961); idem, « Hypostatization of Linguistic Phenomena in Modern Theological Interpretation,» *JSS* 7 (1962) 85–94; John F. A. Sawyer, « Root Meanings in Hebrew,» *JSS* 12 (1967) 37–50; idem, *Sema-*

ntics in Biblical Research (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series 24; Naperville, IL: Allenson, 1972).

13 – Many basic historical and literary questions remain with repect to the whole phenomenon of parallelism, having to do both with questions of origin as with questions of extent. For example: J. C. de Moor and P. van der Lugt have claimed that«the principle of *parallelismus membrorum* was invented by the Sumerians and was taken over by the Akkadians and other Semitic peoples of the ancient world» (« The Spectre of pan – Ugaritism,» *Bir* 31»» 3–26, quotation from O. 7). If this statement is to be undestood as implying an original invention followed by a set of linear borrowings, all occurring relatively late in human history, one must ask how the principle of parallelism came to be a feature of the poetry of so many disparate cultures around the world (cf. references cited in n. 7, above).

14 – Harvard Semitic Monographs 20; Missoula, Montana: Scholars press, 1979.

15 – Geller's system will not include many examples of Lowth's «synthetic»parallelism because of the former's increased interest in grammatical considerations (i. e., a list of semantically related roots is not enough for Geller; there must be grammatical parallelism as well). My own greatest difficulty in working with Geller's categories has been in attempting to distinguish between «synonym» and «list».

16 – BZAW 138 (1976).

17 – M. Parry, *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry* (A. Parry, ed; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); A. B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Universit Press, 1960).

18 – H. L. Ginsberg,« The Rebellion and Death of Baᶜlu,« *Orientalia* n. s. 5 (1936) 161–198, esp. pp. 171–173; U. Cassuto, *The Goddess Anath* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1971,[original Hebrew edition 1951] 25–32; M. Held,«Studies in Ugaritic Lexicography and Poetic Style,» Ph.D. dissertation Johns Hopkins University, 1957; S. Gevirtz, *Patterns in the Early Poetry of Israel* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 32; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963).

19 – R. C. Culley, *Oral Formulaic Language in the Biblical Psalms* (Toronto: University of Toronto press, 1967); W. Whallon, *Formula, Character, and Context: Studies in Homeric, Old English, and Old Testament Poetry* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969).

20 – *Oral Formulaic Language* (reference in n. 19).

21 – Still unpublished dissertation Perhaps best summed up in Held's (reference in n. 18); see also Boling, « Synonymous Parallelism» (reference in n. 4).

22 – *Patterns* (reference in n. 18).

23 – « The Ugaritic Parallel to Jeremiah 8:23,» *JNES* 20 (1961) 41–46.

24.– *Formula* (reference in n. 19).

25 – *RSP* I (1972) 74.

26 – *I*, pp. 89–382; *RSP II* (1975) 5–39.

27 – *Formula Criticism*, pp. 68, 77.

28 – De Moor and van der Lugt, *Bior* 31 (1974) 7.

29 – P. C. Craigie, «The Problem of Parallel Word Pairs in Ugaritic and Hebrew, Poetry « *Semitics* 3 (1973) 48–58, Quotation from p. 49.

30 – Watters, *Formula Criticism*, p. 78.

31 – P. B. Yoder has stated explicitly the only possible form in which the« stockpiling» hypothesis could have any validity: «. . . Held thought of a dictionary of parallel words, only it was an oral dictionary, which the poet had in his head not a written dictionary on his bookshelf» (« A–B Pairs and Oral Composition in Hebrew Poetry,» *VT* 21 (1971) 470–489, quotation from p. 483). Such a form of stockpiling is, of course, possible, indeed well known from research into oral composition, and the resolution of the question of whether it existed or not boils down to question of evidence, empirics, statistics, etc. (cf. Watters' statistical argument cited below in n. 34).

32 – *Formula Criticism*, p. 71–73.

33 – Ibid. p. 73.

34 – My position is, therefore, the mirror – image of, but otherwise not so far removed from Yoder's: « The stock of formulas which a poet has at his disposal is the result of a poetic tradition which hands these formulas on generation after generation because they are useful and pleasing. Individual poets may add to the inherited stock of formulas[3] : Note 3 : [That is, the poet, in the course of his 'career' creates a few idiosyncratic formulas ...] but these additions will be few, since the tradition is the work many hands» (*VT* 21 [1971] 478). On the basis of an extensive sampling (all of Isaiah, Lametations, and Job), Watters has come up with a quite consistent rate of 2:1 for parallel pairs which are« original» vs. those which ar attested in more than one source (*Formula Criticism*, p. 79). This ratio could, of course, decrease if our corpus were to grow, but there is no way of knowing this without actually having the larger corpus, and it therefore appears safer for the present to give the principle of parallelism (i. e., a large margin of creativity in the choice of parallel pairs) precedence over stockpiling (i. e., extensive traditional constraints on creativity). Whichever way the balance tips, it is absolutely necessary, in my opinion, to exclude theories which rely entirely on one of the options. For the combination of tradition with one principle or method of composition (oral composition), see the quotations I gathered in footnote 50 of my article in *Retrospect* (reference above in n. 1). Here is another: «... the oral poet is one who, at the moment of performance, makes spontaneous and therefore original realizations of inherited, traditional impulses» (M. N. Nagler, *Spontaneity and Tradition: A Study in the Oral Art of Homer* [Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974] xxi).

35 – Gray, *Forms of Hebrew Poetry* (1915) 38–46; Newman,«Parallelism in Amos» (reference above, n. 6; 1918) 57–119.

36 – De Moor and van der Lugt, *Bior* 31 (1974) 3–26; Craigie, *Semitics* 3 (1973) 48–58; cf. also Craigie,« Parallel Word Pairs in the Song of Deborah (Judges 5), « *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* » 20 (1977) 15–22; idem,« Deuteronomy and Ugaritic Studies,» *Tyndale Bulletin* 28 (1979) 155–169.

37 – *Formula Criticism*, pp. 26–27. Cf. Avishur's published work: « Pairs of Synonymous Words in the Construct State (and in Appositional Hendiadys) in Biblical Hebrew,» *Semitics* 2 (1971) (17-81); « Word Pairs Common to Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew,» *UF* 7 (1975) 13–47; «Studies of Stylistic Features Common to the Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible,» *UF* 8 (1976) 1–22.

38 – Cf. Watters, *Formula Criticism*, p. 2.

39 – E. g., by Edward L. Greenstein, « Two Variations of Grammatical Parallelism in Canaanite Poetry and their Psycholinguistic Background,» *JANES* 6 (1974) 87–105.

40 – *Language* 24 (1966) 399 – 429.

41 – Ibid, pp. 423 – 424. Analyzing the first two sentences of this statement seems to indicate that Jakobson sees three principal levels of parallelistitc analysis: phonological, grammatical, and semantic, with the second level sub – divided into two areas, morphological and syntctic. However that may be, such a scheme represents reasonably well the state of parallelistic analysis in Northwest Semitic poetry today: 1) Semantic parallelism, the object of traditional analysis 2) Grammatical parallelism, represented by Geller (morphological) and Collins (syntactic) [see below, this section']; 3) phonetic parallelism, in its infancy [see below].

42 – *Language* 42 (1966) 426 – 427.

43 – « Those oral traditions that use grammatical parallelism to connect consecutive lines, for example, Finno – Ugric patterns of verse .... and to a high degree also Russian folk poetry, can be fruitfully analyzed on all linguistic levels – phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical: we learn what elements are conceived as equivalent and how likeness on certain levels is tempered with conspicuous difference on other ones» (« Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics,» pp. 350 – 377 in *Style in Language* [ed. T.A. Sebeok; Cambridge. MA: M.I.T. Press, 1960] quotation from p. 369).

44 – *Line – Forms in Hebrew Poetry* (Studia Pohl: Series Maior 7; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1978).

45 – *Parallelism* (reference above, n. 14).

46 – *ᶜnt I* (the detailed analysis, along with a similar analysis of a Biblical Hebrew text, will be published elsewhere).

47 – I might add that Collins' system cannot handle long units, either, but it breaks down over such features, while Geller's system, because it is microanalytically descriptive, simply ignores such features. Take, for example, the following three bicola from *ᶜnt I* (11. 10–15)

ytn ks bdh	He puts a cup in his hand,
krpn bkl'at ydh	A goblet in his two hands;
bk rb ᶜẓm r'i	A large vessel, mighty to look upon,
dnmt šmm	Belonging to the furnishings of the heavnes;
ks qdš ltphnh'att	A holy cup (which) women may not see,
krpn ltᶜnʾatrt	A goblet (which) ᶜAṯirat may not eye.

Collin's system breaks down because the second and third bicola are dependent on the first and thus

do not have a complete independent sentence structue (the second bicolon consists of one long object clause containing juxtaposition in *bk rb* + *ᶜẓm r'i* and genetive relativization in *dnmt šmn*, while the third bicolon consists of two object clauses with elliptical relativization: «A holy cup [which] ...»). Geller's system goes blithely on analyzing everything in its path: the second bicolon is analyzed descriptively but may not be put into a formula because semantic and grammatical parallelism are missing (such «synthetic» parallelism occurs, of course, elsewhere and is only an accidental feature of the continued syntax: the third bicolon is easily analyzable because of the clear semantic and grammatical parallelism. But Geller's system leaves completely unnoted that the second and third bicola are syntactically dependent on the first. Moreover, both systems are so centered on the individual poetic unit that considerations of syntactic linkage between poetic units virtually fall within the pale of the extraneous.

48 – «My hypothesis is that the grammatical and other patterns are giving meaning in a more complex and tightly packed way than we except from our familiarity with traditional methods of describing language» (J. McH. Sinclair, «Taking a poem to Pieces,» pp. 129 – 142 in *Linguistics and Literary style* [ed. Donald C. Freeman; New York: Holt, Rinhart and Winston, 1970] guotation from p. 129 [here reprinted from *Essay on Style and Language*, ed. Roger Fowler; New York: Humanites Press, 1966]. This need for detailed analysis appears to me to be even greater for texts in dead languages than for text in a given reader's mother tongue, for in the case of dead languages virtually no information can be perceived by intuition – thus virtually the entire burden of interpretation lies on the shoulders of analysis.

49 – This list presupposes a solid philological underpinning, but it says little about those features of the poetic work which fall under the heading of general literary analysis; imagery comes immediately to mind (I hope to treat imagery in a future article).

50 – B. Margalit, « Introduction to Ugaritic Psosody,» *UF* 7 (1975) 289–313.

51 – Yet a third system of notation has been devised by Mrs. Barbara Kaiser, a doctoral student at the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. It has the advantage of noting all distributions of parallel grammatical elements.

52 – The ordering of the last five categories in this list was a function of the present overview; these categories would be reordered in the systematic analysis of a given text.

53 – Cf., for example, Roland Posner's description of two centuries of work on a single poem by Goethe: «Linguistic Tools of Literary Interpretation: Two Centuries of Goethe Criticism,» *PTL: A Journal for Descriptive Poetics and Theory of Literature* 3 (1978) 71–93. As J. Lotman has remarked, the description of a literary work in all its possible aspects «would be so vast that in practice to do it in one research paper is a barely realizable task» (cited from Ann Shukman, «The Canonization of the Real: Jurij Lotman's Theory of Literature and Analysis of Poetry,» *PTL* 1 [1976] 317–338, quotation from p. 333).

54 – See the list of terms discussed, *RSP I* (1972) 89–95, and *RSP II* (1979) 5.

55 – Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1979.

56 – The most famous is, perhaps, «'Les Chats' de Charles Baudelaire» in collaboration with C. Lévi – Strauss, *L'Homme* 2 (1962) 5–21. See now the analysis of E. E. Cummings' poem «Love is more thicker than forget» in *Sound* shape, pp. 222 – 230. For other approaches to the technique,

see, for example, A. L. Johnson, « Anagrammatism in Poetry: Theoretical preliminaries,» *PTL* 2 (1977) 89 – 118; the chapter entitled « Sounds» in P. M. Wetherill's *The Literary Text: An Examination of Critical Methods* (pp. 3–35; Oxford: Blackwell, 1974); the four articles on « Sound Texture» by David I. Masson, Ants Oras, Dell Hymes, and Masson again (all reprinted from elsewhere) in *Essays on the Language of Literature* (eds. S. Chatman, S.R. Levin: Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1967).

57 – *UF* 7 (1975) 311. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, « alliteration » is used in two primary senses: for « the commencing of two or more words in close connexion, with the same letter, or rather the same sound, » and for « the commencement of certain accented syllables in a verse with the same consonant or consonantial group ». It is clear from Margalit's definitions and examples that he is making no attempt to fit his alliteration into his metrical scheme according to the OED definition (i. e, he does not limit alliteration to first syllables, nor to accented syllables, nor to any combination thereof). Given our lack of knowledge about Ugaritic metrics and accentuation, I tend to agree with Margalit that the phenomenon to be noted in Ugaritic poetry is repetition of same and similar consonants (it may be noted in passing that the Jakobsonian approach may trace patterns irrespective of position and meter) . It must be made clear, however, that it is this phenomenon that we are studying and not traditional « alliteration » (for the latter has, of course, been applied in the past to biblical Hebrew; cf. O.S. Rankin. « Alliteration in Hebrew Poetry, » *JTS* 31 '1929–1930' 285–291). Margalit has eliminated the second of the definitions in the OED in his preliminary statement that alliteration « belongs to the category of the aesthetic rather than the strictly prosodic» (*UF* 7, p. 310). The first definition is, however, only eliminated by implication, that is, by including non–initial consonants as examples of alliteraion.

58 – *Ugaritic Grammar* (Rome: pontifical Biblical Institute, 1940) §12. *Ugaritic Handbook* (Rome: pontifical Biblical Institute, 1947) § 13. 107; *Ugaritic Manual* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1955) § 13.107; *Ugaritic Textbook* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1965) § 13. 11.

59 – This definition is repeated verbatim in each of the editions of Gordon's Ugaritic grammar just cited. The phenomenon of compensation was, of course, noted long before Gordon with application to Hebrew poetry (cf. Gray, *Forms* [1915] 74–83; Newman, «Parallelism» [reference in n. 6; 1918] 141–147).

60 – For modern linguistically oriented studies of deletion, see, for example, Greenstein, *JANES* 6 (1974) 87–105; G. L. Dillon, «Literary Transformations and Poetic Word Order,» *Poetics* 5 (1976) 1–11, esp. pp. 2–5.

61 – Geller's notational format is: *ytn ks bdh krpn bkl'at ydh* .

62 – Cf. Geller, *Parallelism*, pp. 319 – 363.

63 – « *m*ᶜ *rôrât – p*ᶜ*tanîm* 'Venom' in Job 20:14, » *ZAW* 91 (1979) 401–416. esp. pp. 403 405; n. 21; « A Philological and Prosodic Analysis of the Ugaritic Serpent Incantation *UT* 607», *JANES* 10 (1978) 73 – 108, esp. pp. 102 – 105.

64 – The precisely equivalent semantic, grammatical, and postional structure in ᶜ*nt* I 4–5 and 8–9 has two quite different quantities: 2/5/11//1/7/16 in ll. 4–5; 2/6/13//1/6/14 in ll. 8 9 (for this method of computing quantitative [values word count, syllable count, see *ZAW* 91 (1979) 403; *JANES* 10 [1978] 73).

65 – M. Dahood, *Psalms III* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1970) *passim* (see index, p. 483).

66 – J. W. Welch, « Chiasmus in Ugaritic, » *UF* 6 (1974) 421–436.

67 – Line – Forms, pp. 257 – 273.

68 – For an older treatment of the phenomenon in Hebrew poetry, see Newman, «Parallelism» (reference n. ; [1918] 155–158 (termed « reduplication or internal synonymity »).

69 – *RSP I* (1972) 87.

70 – Dahood's methodological error lay in not making a clear distinction between prose texts and poetic ones when noting all forms of parallelism (cf. de Moor and van der Lugt, *BiOr* 31[1974]6; Pardee *JNES* 36 [1977] 66–67).

71 – The structural strength of the near parallelism in ll. 14 and 17 is especially dubious because the antecedent pronoun is different in each case.

72 – Note the combination of regular, near, and distant parallelism in this chain of like terms.

73 – *H* occurs in regular, near, and distant parallelism (ll.5,6,9,10–11,14,17,23).

74 – My sample text was too small to determine whether either Collin' or Geller's formulae occur in groupings comparable to the structures formed by near and distant parallelism, but neither author makes such a claim and I am dubious that they would be perceived as of structural significance without the aid of other parallelistic features (i. e., repeated line–types and formulae do occur in a given text, but a pattern will only emerge when the distant grammatical structure is supported by repetitive semantic parallelism).

75 – The only explicit recognition of such problems with respect to Ugaritic poetry of which I am aware is by Greenstein, in the article cited above in n. 39 (*JANES* 6 [1974] 87 – 105).

76 – On this problem of descriptive analysis over against the «rich allusiveness of poetry» see Peter and Wendy Steiner's review (of Elmar Holenstein, *Roman Jakobson's Approach to Language Phenomenological structuralism*) i- *PTL* 3 (1978) 357 – 370, esp. pp. 368 – 369. The problem with relying completely on the« allusiveness» is, of course that such total reliance can lead to « mystical dilettantism»(D.I. Masson,«Vowel and Consonant Patterns in Poetry», pp. 3–18 in *Essays*[reference: above, n. 56], quotation from p. 18). I would in any case, certainly not want my pleas for a detailed analysis of parallelistic structures to be understood as implying that such« nuts – and – bolts» analysis can take the place of literary, aesthetic, or historical criticism.« Instead, the analyses are rigorous descriptions of the preconditions for criticism ...» (Steiner and Steiner, ibid., p. 369).

77 – To save space, I have given only the text arranged according to poetic structure (and have omitted the few signs at beginning and end which, becauseof lacunae, cannot be fitted into the Poetic structure). The arrangement of lines on the tablet can be easily determined from the word numbers given here in superscript.

S. W. Helms

(England)

« Jericho which was once a little city,

but is now destroyed, and is but a little village»

Sir John Maundeville 1322

Jericho or tell as–Sultan, it has been claimed, is the oldest known city in the world and, but for purely technical distinctions such as the connotation of a walled settlement, this appears to be the case. Certainly so far as Palestine is concerned, ancient Jericho has not only the longest occupational history but also one that has been most fervently explored, literally in depth and breadth, throughout three separate campaigns of excavations.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the tell of Jericho according to these three phases of exploration at five significant stages in time and to do so in the very general terms of its suitability as a nucleated settlement, topographically and hydrologically. The result is a realization that nature imposed a constant environmental pattern which caused remarkable 'urban conservatism' over a period of about eleven millennia, beginning with the Pre–Pottery Neolithic A period (PPNA) of the late 9th millennium.

I

The name of both the tell and the constantly life–giving spring derives from the Ottoman period when the *ciftlik* below the site belonged nominally to the sultan Abdul Hamid. The little village some two kilometres southeast was and still is called Ariha, but also Jericho through history. The biblical name JERIHO (JEREHO) (Driver 1945:12) was always applied and meant specifically the 'city' or 'fortress' (cf. I K 17. 34) at tell es–Sultan up to the Hasmonean kings and later, to Herod the Great (Simons 1959: §§324, 326, 327, 515–6, 896 etc). Hellenistic Jericho (Hierichountos) lay farther south at Tulul Abu el-'Alaiq near Wadi Qelt (Simons 1959: §§ 1156–8; Maccabees I, II; Strabo XVI.2.10; Pritchard 1958) where it was associated with the fortresses Thrax and Tauros From biblical sources come the apposite descriptions 'city of palms' and 'spring of Jericho' as well as the earliest

sagas pertaining to Jericho's fabled water resources, given hence-forth also the name Elisha's Fountain after 2 Kings 2.19–22:

> 'And the men of the city said unto Elisha, Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, as my lord seeth: but the water is naught, and the ground barren'

The prophet Elisha cures the problem by casting salt into the water:

> 'Thus saith the Lord, I have healed these waters; there shall not be from thence any more death or barren land'

And so it was to be, more or less, and however this tale is interpreted hydrologically (or rather, chemically since the waters are also said to have had contraceptive qualities), it serves to illustrate the obvious importance of the spring to settled life at Jericho which continued in one way or another throughout the Persian period (Neh 3: *anshe jereho* among those who rebuilt Jerusalem after the Exile). There was therefore always some occupation near the spring, if not always on the tell. We read, for example, about Zachaeus of Jericho (Luke 19) and Jesus Christ's passing through the place on his last journey to Jerusalem and a few years later, after the investment and later destruction of Hellenistic Jericho by the Romans (Josephus IV.450 ff; cf. Williamson 1970:59ff), the gardens and fields below 'Ain es-Sultan may once again have become the site of a small town or village about this ,...most fertile spot in Judaea, rich in palms and in balsam' (Josephus I.138; cf. Williamson 1970:39). A Byzantine church as well as a rabbinical school were established near Jericho, the latter in or before the 5th century (Wilkinson 1977:160; Ovadiah 1970:62 4, 72 5). A pilgrim from Piacenza found ruins, possibly the result of an earthquake about 551, but the Madeba map (6th century) shows no damage to the 'sanctuary of Saint Elisha' (Donner and Cuppers 1977; cf. Eusebius *Onom.*). However, very little specific information regarding the spring itself survives in the written sources touched upon so far.

The first note of antiquarian interest comes from a 4th century pilgrim (*Itinerarium*: 596.21ff; 597.5ff) who appends a paraphrasing of Joshua 2 to a reiteration of 2 Kings (2.19–22): *supra eundem vero fontem* ('Ain es-Sultan) *est domus Rachab* (cf. Franken 1965) *fornicariae*,1 presumably referring to some ruins of clearly uncertain date. This formula is repeated in the 7th century by another pilgrim, Arculf (Adamnanus 2.13; cf. Meehan 1958:84), who is to have noted, miraculously (*mirum dictu*), that only the house of the

whore remains of the three destroyed cities at Jericho. The ruins are described: *...cuis lapidei parientes sine culmina permanent. Locus vero totius urbis ab humana desertus habitatione nullam domum habens commerationis segetes et uineta recipit.*

Other Christian pilgrims visited Jericho without adding much to our story between the 7th and the 14th centuries (Wright 1848), among them Willibald (721-24), Saewulf (1102-3) and Sir John Maundeville (1322). Islamic sources mention a 'city of al-Ghor' (Ya'kubi:8), destroyed by an earthquake in 1033, and a 'small town' about 1172 (Yahya:29). The only relatively early 'text' which gives us some information about 'Ain es-Sultan is that of Henry Maundrell (1697) (Wright 1848) who quotes the usual 2 Kings but adds of the spring:

> 'Its waters are at present received in a basin about nine paces long and five or six broad, and from thence, issuing out in great plenty, divide themselves into several small streams, dispersing their refreshments to all the field between this and Jericho (Ariha) and rendering it exceedingly fruitful'

This artificial basin (probably a distribution tank) of uncertain construction date – though probably Ottoman– is very like the remains still visible and recorded several times during the later 19th century (figure 1; cf. among others Harper 1894). Even the tree leaning towards the water may be the same noted by Maundrell who concludes his description of the spring with: 'Close by the fountain grows a large tree spreading into boughs over the water'.

Jericho received its first archaeological attention at about this time. Various notes were published by Robinson (1841, 1856) and Bliss (1894) among others. Warren (1869:14ff) visited and later tested the site on behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund but found Jericho wanting in potential. Just after the turn of the century several seasons of excavations were conducted by Sellin and published (with Watzinger) in 1913 (figure 2).

Mirum dictu indeed, Sellin provides the most recent actual and technically useful structural evidence regarding the use of water resources while also getting much of the stratigraphy right in–equally remarkably–prompt publication. He says that in order to build a reservoir about 1889 – Maund-

rell's of 1697 being presumably gone entirely – the mudir of Ariha caused earth and stones to be removed from the eastern flank of Tell es–Sultan and in the process encountered ancient mudbrick walls (figure 3). This construction may be the one illustrated in some of the late 19th century travel accounts noted earlier which must have been enlarged sometime between then and Sellin's arrival at Jericho. But for modern repairs and minor adjustments, the reservoir remains as it was, as does the road between it and the tell: and thus was sealed permanently nearly a century ago and made quite inaccessible the evidence about which this discussion revolves. Neither the Austrians Sellin and Watzinger 1913), nor the British (Garstang 1930, 1932ab, 1933, 1935, 1936; Kenyon 1952–60, 1957, 1981), nor yet the Israelis (who have apparently finally altered the flow of the spring) have excavated here and the mudir of Ariha still prevails.

'Ain es–Sultan's copious output has been quantified recently by Dorrell (1978:11ff) as between 0.26 and 0.37 cubic metres per second and the supposition is that the source – Elisha notwithstanding – was a permanent one for as long as there was human occupation at the site. Fluctuations in discharge depend on variable rainfall on the hills to the west (figure 4). However, as Dorrell points out, the extensive aquifer and average annual precipitation of over 600 millimetres (as against 100–200 mm at Jericho) assure a maintained base–flow so that minor rainfall variations do not seriously affect discharge at Jericho.

There are other, equally abundant springs in the sub–region ,occurring in two distinctive locales: in or very near the steep western hills and in the Jordan Valley flood plain, close to the river and the Dead Sea (figure 5). The latter, however, are not reliable because of seismic disturbances. They are also rather close to increasingly saline soils. The former – 'Ain Duk and 'Ain Nu'eimeh ('water of Jericho') and Wadi Qelt – are possibly unsuitable for easy defence and certainly farther from relatively flat irrigable and thus arable land. Only 'Ain es–Sultan lies in the optimum, even 'classical' situation in terms of site catchment analysis: close to the fields, yet issuing from a bare and barren rock outcrop. Finally, 'Ain es–Sultan, being some distance from the hills yet high enough to afford a view of the valley to the east, visually controls all of the major roads and river fords in the vicinity.

The waters of Jericho could be and were, at least twice in recent history, directed into man–made reservoirs next to the tell, the over–flow, as always, irrigating the fields and gardens to the east: and there is no compelling reason to think that it was not also thus much earlier.

II

Kenyon's excavations indicate that the earliest walls of 'urban' proportions found were built on bare rock between the later 9th and the mid-8th millennia. Various such building activities, several albeit inaccurate surveys, the hydrological fact of 'Ain es-Sultan and very general geological (structural) and geomorphological realities allow us to essay a reconstruction of bedrock contours as they may have been about the time of the PPNA settlement.

It is fairly clear that the actual spring lies a little further west, within the tell, and that it has not moved appreciably since the PPNA period. Although subsequent cultivation (and erosion from the tell) has altered the surfaces to the west, the drainage pattern is reconstructable since it was likewise always much the same as it is now. The slope of the land being relatively even (c 1: 30), straight or braided streams (assuming there was soil cover then) would have fanned out quite naturally within an arc of about 120 degrees, roughly northeast to south. The general contours above the spring could follow those of modern times with an indication of a watershed, perhaps a low ridge, subsidiary to that separating the 'Ain Duk drainage from that of 'Ain es-Sultan. The spring probably lay at the eastern prow of this ridge.

Consulting two sets of contour measurements – Sellin and Watzinger's and those of Garstang (figures 2 and 6) – the proposed topography about the spring is corroborated north and south in that the contours return westwards. From these two sources as well as Kenyon's work it might be inferred that at least two high points existed, north and south, with the spring opposite a trough. However, the two earlier sources alone mean little by themselves since the contours could easily have resulted from accumulating occupational debris and have little, if any, bearing on bedrock formations. Kenyon's record might resolve this – always assuming that her absolute levels are related, even vaguely, to at least Garstang's and of course that they are consistent between trenches (figure 7). Table 1 sets out the fruits of this exercise which is an attempt to reconstruct the most ancient topography of Jericho. It is proposed, cautiously, that the spring issued forth between – 3 and – 4 metres (absolute level) at the base of a relatively steep rock outcrop which erosion, north and south of a saddle, had made into its characteristic shape (figure 8). The two high points aie purely hypothetical but may be implied by the modern contours. Caution is expressed in the unlikely height of point 'o' which if true would mean that the alluvium rose nearly 10 metres since the PPNA period. Though generally raliable, Sellin and Watzinger's plans do contain several definite errors of spot heights which fact ought to qualify much oi

what is attempted here. Nevertheless, point 'n' is taken to suggest that during the period in question, the alluvium – potential fields – did begin at the line indicated here.

Point	Excavation	Trench	Grid Reference	Level	Description
a	KMK	TrI	G H 3 5	–2.50	bottom PPNA ditch
b	«	«	«	–0.80	footings PPNA wall
c	«	«	«	0.00	econstructed surface
d	«	«	«	+2.00	bedrock
e	«	«	«	+4.00	bedrock
f	«	«	«	+10.00	top PPNA tower
g	«	Tr II	C7	(0.00)	bedrock?
h	«	«	«	0.00	PPNA wall footings
i	«	Tr III	M4	00.0	bedrock andPPNA wall footings
j	«	«	«	+1.00	bedrock
k	«	«	L4	(+2.00)	bedrock ?
l	Gst		E8	–3.20	occupation (XIII)
m	«		E7	–1.80	sterile soil (under 'microliths')
n	S & W		F8	–5.30	occupation
o	«		H8	+4.64	field (1908) ???
p	«		L6	–0.35	road surface
q	«		M6	–1.00	road surface
r	«		B9	–3.20	bedrock
s	Gst &SW		H7	0.00	DATUM (reservoir)
t	KMK		K8	0.00	DATUM (steps)?

KMK: Kenyon, Gst: Garstang, S &W: Sellin and Watzinger

Table 1

When Kenyon's results are set against this reconstruction, the scale of the undertaking with regard to the PPNA rock–cut ditch becomes even more monumental than hitherto appreciated (figure 9). One must ask why the ditch was cut in the first place. Surely not for building materials alone. It follows that it was cut for perhaps two major reasons: for defence along the western flank of the site and for drainage. With the reconstructed topography it seems plausible that the saddle was interrupted in this strategic sector and, as demanded by proper drainage, that it could easily have been about 200 metres long, effectively cutting off the occupation site from the land to the west, acting as the earliest yet known moat in the long history of military architecture. In terms of human engineering this means that about 4000 cubic metres of living rock were quarried with very primitive tools in order to defend the settlement.

Since the PPNA town wall has been identified in three widely separated trenches (figure 7: I, II, III) we could assume that the north, west and south flanks were enclosed: that is, the two (hypothetical) hills and the massive stone tower. With reference to points 'l' and 'n', the northeast 'trace' of these fortifications ought to lie somewhere beyond, which means that the town wall could easily have enclosed the spring. In the south (point 'i') the wall would curve northwards as shown, possibly towards a gateway just below the spring. Surplus water would easily and safely have passed through culverts under the curtain (cf. IV below and Franken 1965). To suggest that an artificial reservoir or distribution tank was built at this time is a little beyond the available evidence, though not at all impossible.

Kenyon notes that clay-lined bins were built against the great tower during some later stage, still within the PPNA period. These were once, unconvincingly, linked with some hydrological function. It seems more likely - as the excavator herself suggested - that they were storage installations, probably grain silos, and would thus complement, indeed complete the image that we can now see of this first town of Jericho (Kenyon 1952-60: 1960: 96).

The highest points and the all-important spring, which could irrigate fields along simple mud-banked canals and conveniently serve the settled community, were enclosed after the tower – now the highest point in the town - had been built. Towers Silo and Water Source are the two fundamental, real and symbolic, elements of the city (in History) that were to be enshrined, for example, in Sumer and later in imperial Mesopotamia: specifically the monumental ziggurats and intricate extensive canal systems and the requisite sophisticated absolute control of the urban life support systems, as well as the community, local, national and international.

III

By 1909–13 Sellin and Watzinger were convinced that the mudbrick walls along the western and northern summits of the site belonged to the Canaanean stage of Palestine's most ancient history: that is to say, the Early Bronze Age or roughly the 3rd millennium. Garstang's re-excavation resulted in error over these features because of his passionate fascination with Joshua's conquest, blinding him to stratigraphic reality (Garstang 1931). The unfortunate tenacity with which demonstrably untenable views continue to be held is typical of this kind of archaeology that has earned Palestine the epithet of 'land of archaeological sin.' Watzinger (1926) 'versus' Garstang (1927) and quoted here by the latter in 1930: 'did not hesitate, on *scientific* grounds (my italics), to reinterpret the evidence in the light of modern results'. He, Watzinger, now agreed that the massive stone revetment about much of

the flanks of the site belonged to the Middle Bronze Age: 'but he remained convinced that the brick walls upon the higher level belonged to a still earlier epoch'.

We know of course that Garstang was almost quite wrong. Kenyon demonstrated this with her very first press release about her new excavations. She destroyed all of Garstang's work, it seemed, entirely. So far as the Early Bronze Age date of the upper walls is concerned, she had complete justification, although the proof was not all her own. Too little was made of Sellin and Watzinger in those days-and , ironically, rather too much of the Bible despite Garstang's fundamentalism, for such catalysis was as rewarding then as it still is now.

All three excavation campaigns uncovered a lot of walls: the first two in terms of sheer length, the last in terms of more accurately recorded entities, in depth. But inexplicably no one except perhaps Franken (1965) ever tried to discuss this evidence as a complementary ,if flawed, series of information about one and the same site. For all intents and purposes the three excavations could have been at totally different sites. A complete synthesis of all the work at Jericho will take time, although it should have been done years ago. The object of this section is to try and appreciate the nature of the undoubtedly urban state of Jericho during the Early Bronze Age.

The PPNA urban - or even proto-urban (!) for that matter – matrix appears to have no immediate successor. Subsequent Neolithic settlements spread beyond the town wall and tower in Kenyon's trench I (cf. figure 14). That excavator, among others, therefore concluded that between the PPNA and, very roughly, the late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age Jericho was not an urban settlement: because no town wall was found (cf. Mellaart 1975: 59). Strictly speaking, the evidence is negative and no less. Final judgement must be suspended regarding the nature of Jericho's settlement during this period – specifically for the site and for the pre-historical periods involved.

So far as Jericho's Early Bronze Age urban development is concerned, this human accumulation served to alter the contours and 'natural' drainage of the site. Whatever the (unresolved) chronological truth–continuity, co-existence or hiatus – whoever built the first Early Bronze Age town encountered this man-made topography which, moreover, we can reconstruct more plausibly than that of five millennia before. The PPNA ditch was long ago filled in and the site resembled once more its primeval natural state, although the hill was now much higher and broader (figure 10). More alluvium would have accumulated north, east and south and the spring would have cut shallow gullies, some perhaps still following earlier canalization.

Almost from the time of the first walled town of the Early Bronze Age onwards, Kenyon's excavations have shown deliberately cut ditches in association with the fortifications. Their function is two-fold as is that of the slope below the curtains. On the one hand the ditches assure controlled drainage of rainwater from the rampart – which is what the slope is in tactical terms (cf. Parr 1968) – on the other hand they impose a barrier to would-be attackers in much the same way as did the PPNA moat. It is possible to suggest that all Early Bronze Age stages with fortifications had a system of linked ditches about them. One such albeit hypothetical stage can be assembled from the available information (figure 11). This belongs to EB II and concerns linking trench II with trench I via trench A I and Sellin and Watzinger's cuts (Helms 1977). The sides of the two ditches in trench II appear to converge towards the east and the reconstructed contours would therefore suggest that they ended nearby and drained westwards (anti-clockwise) about the tell, perhaps joining in one ditch as indicated here. A second ditch might have drained eastwards about the side. Both 'systems' would of course lead to the adjacent fields.

The fortifications illustrated here are based on the tower in trench II, a potentially similar one in square F4–G4 (Sellin and Watzinger 1913), a large rectilinear chambered tower in squares H6–I6 (Garstang 1958) of 'floating' date and the better preserved contemporary layout at Arad south of Hebron (Amiran 1978). Thus rounded towers appear at strategic corners and tend to cluster about the sharper curves in the curtain. The outer, thinner wall (double trace: cf. Helms 1975, 1976ms) is by now a well-established design feature in fourth and third millennium fortifications of Syria and Palestine, among others Habuba Kabira-Süd (Strommenger 1980), Tell el-Far'ah near Nablus (de Vaux 1962), Tell Ta'annek (Lapp 1969) and Ai (et-Tell) (Callaway 1980). Even the internal arrangement of houses and lanes might be reconstructed following such precedent as well as bits of evidence from the first two excavations at Jericho. A major circular road probably ran all around the town as shown here and secondary lanes branched off at intervals, creating the typical *insulae* common to many fourth and third millennium sites in the greater region (Heinrich 1958). Such loosely planned patterns continue throughout the later history of the city, traditionally up to Hippodamus (Frankfort 1950).

In order to complete this hypothetical Early Bronze Age Jericho we must once more consider the water supply and propose that 'Ain es-Sultan was incorporated into the urban scheme throughout the period. The argumment is as follows.

Nearly all possible reconstructions of the trace of fortifications come

very close to the spring. When projected through the archaeologically inaccessible area of the modern road, many follow the line already noted in the PPNA period : the southern trace tends to return quite sharply northwards (one being the wall line associated with Garstang's 'floating' tower), its projection coming between the spring and the tell; the northern trace, on the other hand, tends to swing out eastwards, its projection enclosing the spring. The only logical explanation here is that the source was meant to be within the town, somehow, and that a gate existed as shown (figure 11).

But can one go further than this and attempt a description of how this enclosure looked and functioned? I think yes: because as before we have a technological precedent in the water systems, the massive earth dams and extensive canals, pools and even spillways at the fourth millennium fortified settlement of Jawa in eastern Jordan which was founded just before the first Early Bronze Age town at Jericho (Helms 1981). This reconstruction of Jericho's water system is further supported by the discoveries at 'Ai (et-Tell) of an earth and stone revetted cistern (Callaway 1980) and particularly Arad where a run-off-fed pool lies within the walled town and is apparently surrounded by a network of radiating streets and specialized buildings (Amiran 1978). There seems therefore to be no pressing objection to basing the reconstruction on the mudir of Ariha's pool (figure 3) which has two base outlets and an overflow channel or spillway serving a mill (cf. Helms 1980 ms).

IV

Once again a demonstrably urban stage appears to have been followed by a time of open settlement which spread far beyond the ruined Early Bronze Age trace of fortifications (figure 15). And once again, despite the poverty of the excavated structures ,one must be cautious when defining such a stage as non-urban: whether of the specific site or of the folk involved. The related culture (MB I) in Syria was probably an urban one. The evidence at Jericho is still somewhat negative and all we have for this study is a slightly higher tell by the time of the next clearly urban stage at the site.

Sellin and Watzinger laid bare most of what remains of the Middle Bronze Age fortifications and even correctly altered their first erroneous date (Watzinger1926).Kenyon confirmed, complemented and refined this but failed to explain all of the features apparently associated with these works. In all her publications, so far, a very obvious structure crying out for explanation has been portrayed as a slight embarrassment almost as if it should not have been there in the first place. This concerns the mudbrick wall on top of the Middle Bronze Age rampart revetment which is a much more dominant

feature in both Garstang's and Sellin and Watzinger's publications (Kenyon 1952-60; cf. figures 14 and 15; compare Sellin and Watzinger 1913: Abb. 26, 34, 35, Blatt 10, 11ab, 12a, 13, Tafel III; Garstang 1930: pl. VI). The first dating of the revetment to the Iron Age may have some bearing on the obviously tricky stratigraphy around this unfortunate wall and this will be discussed below (V).

Of all the urban entities at Jericho, that of the later Middle Bronze Age is the best preserved in one sense and not there at all in another. What is preserved is the lower half of the fortifications, the lower remains of the rampart and its stone revetment. The curtains and their foundations have disappeared as has most of the domestic interior of the town. But we are pretty certain of two things: the general trace of the fortifications as it is deliniated by the rampart revetment and the plausible reconstructions of the line of the curtains on top of the latest rampart. The illustration offered here (figure 12) and also Kenyon's own suggestions along with known Middle Bronze Age works – for example, Tell Zeror (Ohata 1964-70), Tell Ajjul (Petrie 1931-4), Tell Fara (South) (Petrie 1930; Macdonald 1932), Tell el-Far'ah (North) (de Vaux 1962) and Tell Nagila (Amiran and Eitan 1965)– lead us to a reconstruction of a rampart with a c 30 metre broad slope at about 30 degrees of which roughly one half still survives (figure 15). It is reasonable to assume that this deliberate consolidation of the eroded slopes was a constant feature all around the site, and considering reconstructable contours through the Middle Bronze Age occupation in the domestic sector, that the rampart also sloped down from the curtains into the town. In other words it was a dyke all about the site similar to the well-documented extension of Hazor (Yadin 1972). Whether a 'structural casemate' existed beneath the curtains is not known, but is quite possible.

The trace of the fortifications followed that of the Early Bronze Age town whose form was probably still evident even after the MB I interval. We can see the projections of the rampart revetment quite clearly. In the south the line curves sharply north towards the spring, while in the north it swerves far east into the fields, well clear of the source. Thus we should see the massive rampart, stepped north and south (as against Franken's reconstruction – 1965– which is too high), surrounding the site as well as well as the spring. The latter would be contained behind a stone and earth dam, as we suggested was the case during the Early Bronze Age. At this point in the trace the rampart was just that: less of a fortification than a hydrodynamic structure, though built more or less in the same manner and probably incorporating much earlier structural remains. It was a dam, moreover, that is very similar in structure to those of 4th millennium Jawa.

We can therefore appreciate the truly multiple function of this type of fortification which begins long before the Middle Bronze Age (Parr 1968) and even the Early Bronze Age, as a protection against man and his craft as well as nature and her agencies – be they destructive or otherwise – that require control, in other words urban planning. Furthermore, such systems were generally in use throughout the greater region whenever the need arose. Middle Bronze Age systems of even greater complexity have benn suspected at many Palestinian sites. Jericho's constant topography and settlement as well as hydrology demanded a specific scheme.

Details such as gates and towers are a further step of speculation here, although not very difficult or very far–fetched. There are now enough parallels available to suggest that Middle Bronze Age Jericho was one of the many small fortress towns with only one main gate and possibly a few posterns, if any (cf. Kochavi et al. 1979). Garstang's 'floating' tower might belong here, either reused (EBA) or as a new construction, guarding the ramp-like approach road.

Thus far then, by c 1700 BC or so, the fortified town of Jericho looked more or less as it had done whenever a formal urban scheme was imposed. Differences concern scale rather more than principle.

V

We now come to a very touchy point in the story of Jericho and that is the period between the end of the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age: the broad span during which Joshua is to have conquered Canaan. Can one add anything without re–excavation? Had all of the evidence been explored? Has what has been studied been treated objectively? Can one, using existing published data, restate the argument in any significant way?

Kenyon has had and is having the last word and according to her there is no proof of any fortifications that could have existed during the Late Bronze Age (Kenyon 1957: 261–2). Garstang was very obviously wrong – Sellin and Watzinger right – so far as the Early Bronze Age walls at the top of the tell were concerned. Furthermore, Kenyon implies that very few traces of Late Bronze Age domestic occupation were on the tell, suggesting at best a drastic reduction of the settlement. But four considerations can modify this view. Let us therefore try to reconstruct the last of a series of urban schemes at Jericho (figure13).

The first consideration concerns the proven existence of perhaps more than suspected Late Bronze Age pottery in the Jericho tombs as well as on

the tell. This material was excavated by Garstang and is being studied (Bienkowski). Although much of the pottery is un-stratified and even un-marked, it nontheless constitutes admissable evidence.

Secondly one must consider the geomorphology of the tell whose equilibrium between artificial growth and reduction by natural agencies may have been tipped towards the negative side long before anyone excavated the site. By the time that began there was probably precious little left of the later occupation levels. Probably all of the Middle Bronze Age curtain walls were gone, particularly in the east, and with them anything on or against them. Consulting the 'modern' contours, by 1908 the north, west and south flanks of Jericho were there because the Early Bronze Age structures acted as a casemate .Only squares F6–7 to H5–6 held any chance of an extensive domestic occupation and both early excavations cleared out substantial buildings there. Garstang identified one as a public building (his Middle Building) of Late Bronze Age date (Garstang 1948). By the 1950s there was next to nothing left but what there was might have held the proof of date. Combining these two considerations discussed so far: since there seems to be some amount of Late Bronze Age pottery from the tell, large buildings of the period could have existed precisely where one would expect to find them, that is opposite the water source, just inside the most logical position for the town's main gate. This was the arrangement that we have proposed for the previous schemes, all the way back to the PPNA period.

This raises the third point of consideration. The geomorphological facts can provide an impartial observer with negative yet, up to a point, circumstantial evidence. Since Jericho was settled in one manner or another during both the Middle and Late Bronze Age periods, it is merely a question of whether the town was fortified during the latter. It has been noted that the massive Middle Bronze Age walls on their revetted rampart could have been reused (as they themselves may have used earlier structures) and this is a very logical and plausible step that was taken long ago by Yadin (1963: 90). Geomorphology allows us to explain the absence of structural evidence which, objectively, one would expect to find along with the Late Bronze Age material from tell and tomb. All that is attempted here so far is a clarification of the argument: the nature of the evidence which I feel tends to favour the possibility if not probability of some kind of urban fortification during at least part of the Late Bronze Age, whether that has anything to do with the Bible or otherwise. But can one go further than this?

The fourth and final consideration might be admissable excavated evidence which all three excavations encountered and recorded, variously. This concerns 'the Wall' (figures 14 and 15) on the Middle Bronze Age ram-

part revetment which, as I noted earlier, Kenyon would rather not have found at all.

First of all ,the Wall' makes little sense in terms of Middle Bronze Age military architecture (unless we propose a double trace) and this is reflected in several commentaries of this subject (i.e. Parr 1968:Abb. 2). Such a wall at the bottom of a rampart would nullify the effect of the elaborate, monumental and carefully prepared slope above it. Garstang called 'the Wall' a parapet which still does not satisfy tactical requirements. In any case, one look at Sellin and Watzinger's version of the same feature is enough to appreciate its dimensions which are those of a defensive wall of medium proportions with some signs of occupations behind it (Sellin and Watzinger 1963: Blatt 13 etc). Where, or rather when does this wall belong? In Kenyon's north section of trench I (figure 14) it is definitely sealed by a layer labelled 'compact pinkish (Iron Age)', a layer that runs beneath an Iron Age house beyond the Middle Bronze Age revetment. Thus the time span is roughly late Middle Bronze Age (or later?) to Iron Age (cf. Franken 1965: siege of 1580).

If, for a moment, we look again at one of the settlement patterns at the ite, we recall that formal urban stages (as found) were succeeded by an expansion of the domestic sector. Fortifications were not found, but might have existed at some points. Kenyons's Iron Age house suggests that this pattern was repeated sometime after the Middle Bronze Age rampart revetment and presumably the rampart itself went out of use. If we broaden the view and look for example at Jerusalem, specifically the so-called Jebusite wall of Middle Bronze Age construction date and the relation of Iron Age domestic structures and their form as interpreted by the excavator, a further insight comes of light (Kenyon 1967). The slopes above Jerusalem's Middle Bronze Age walls were later terraced in order to accommodate more domestic housing. Jericho's rampart may have been used similarly sometime during the Iron Age when the town grew beyond the earlier fortification perimeter. 'The Wall' as well as whatever (if anything) remained of the Middle Bronze Age curtain could have served as concentric town walls, much like those depicted on many Syrian and Mesopotamian reliefs of the period. But Kenyon's Iron Age layers seem to prove stratigraphically that this was not the case. It follows then that only before the Iron Age and after the later Middle Bronze Age 'the Wall' and any remaining structures father up the slope as well as the proposed terraces made up the urban complex.

But what of 'the Wall'? Is there any other archaeological evidence that can be gleaned from the published records?

Garstang published a section (n–x at the north of the tell) (1930: pl. VI) which may or may not have much to do with proper stratification (figure 15). However, it does compare quite favourably with Kenyon's 'Wall' in trench I about 200 metres along the trace. Compare also Sellin and Watzinger's photographs cited earlier which show similar 'destruction' levels and stone chips sloping off the stone revetment below 'the Wall' (1913: Abb. 34, 35). Garstang found a Mycenaean vessel which he dated c 1350-1200 (point mp in section n–x: figure 15) and also labelled several layers 'LB'.

The very tentative conclusion is that a town wall existed sometime during the Late Bronze Age; a wall that makes little sense as part of the fully developed Middle Bronze Age scheme of fortifications; a wall that may, however, have served a different kind of settlement, an expanded one terraced down the earlier rampart slope; a wall that was destroyed before the Iron Age. But until re–examination of the tell is fortunate enough to reveal more tangible evidence, we cannot speculate further towards an historical identification of a specific town. Nor can we link our current hypothesis with the Biblical saga.

In concluding one might say that the account of Joshua's investment and destruction of Jericho, Ai and Gibeon are a cohesive, logically sequential story with some realistic and specifically local flavour absent from the rest which is reduced to a series of formulae. However, Ai (et-Tell) was abandoned according to its excavator between EB III and c 1220 BC (Callaway 1980: 245). The evidence at Gibeon is not conclusive (Pritchard 1962), even if the sun stood still. An aposite quotation pertaining the another kind of 'conservatism' with which to end is Josephus' account of Vespasian's 'conquest' of Jericho:

> 'The bulk of the population, without waiting for their arrival, had fled from Jericho to the hill country opposite Jerusalem, but a large section which had stayed behind was put to death. The Romans found the city deserted.'
>
> *Bell. Jud.* IV.451
> (Williamson 1970:259–8)

1. 'Indeed above the same spring is the house of Rachab the prostitute.'

2. '... its stone walls without tops remain .The whole area is actually devoid of human habitation; having no permanent house, it has standing crops and vineyards.'

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List of figures

Stefan Wild
University of Bonn – W. Germany

PALESTINIAN PLACE-NAMES

There is hardly a country which has been changed toponomastically as drastically and as fast as Palestine. The Zionist settlement and later the establishment of the Israeli state has changed the country fundamentally. One of the aspects of this artificial, violent and sudden change was the disappearance of many Arab villages, the reintroduction of ancient Hebrew names to replace the current Arab ones and finally the establishment and naming of new settlements. Already in 1927 the Jewish National Fund had created a „name–section", which received in 1949 as the "Geographical committee, Names–committee" on official status. The aim of this committee was and still is to give Hebrew names to all geographical and topographical entities of the state. This meant practically in many instances not only a dual nomenclature but in fact the replacement of the Arab name by a Hebrew counterpart.

The aim of this paper is not to shed light on the process, the determined policy and the motifs of changing the profile of Palestinian place–names, but to give an outline of the different layers of place–names which are to be found in Palestine before Zionism and to draw your attention to different possibilities of analyzing and interpreting these place–names.

Like archaeology the study of place–names has been used politically. Archaeological evidence of thousands of years ago has been misused to justify territorial and political claims in the twentieth century. Palestine is perhaps the most notorious example for this type of biased scholarship. In a similar way the history of place–names and their identification can be and has been misused. Disinterested scholarship can afford to disregard such attempts which will never lead to anything but the distortion of historical truth.

Before going into the problems of Palestinian place–names it is important to differentiate between two different approaches to place–names as such, the topographical approach and the toponomastic approach. The

topographical approach starts out whith a place-name X, usually from a written document sometimes maybe more than three thousand years old and asks: Where is that place X now? what is it called today? A considerable amount of Biblical scholarship has gone into attempts to identify places mentioned in the Bible with actual present-day settlements.

This approach is, of course, legitimate, but fraught with dangers. A country like Palestine, with places holy to three world religions, was fertile soil for myths and legends which easily connected particular places with venerated persons and events. Here these dangers were perhaps greater than elsewhere. A superficial similarity of names, a certain assonance was often enough to "identify" a name found in an Akkadian letter of the second millenium B.C. with a Palestinian village, or a name found in the Old Testament with a modern wadi. The second approach is the toponomastic approach. This approach studies the place-names of a given area as linguistic entities and tries to analyze them and find out what they mean and how their linguistic form has changed. This linguistic approach is the one which I propose to use in this paper.

The usual topographical approach to Palestinian place-names was to start out from one or more Biblical place-names and ask: what does this name and place correspond to in modern times? The toponomastic approach starts out with the inventory of place-names as found in the speech of the Arab population. The first prerequisite for the study of Palestinian place-names in the sense meant here is, therefore, a list which gives as many Palestinian place-names as possible and moreover gives the names in their precise Arabic linguistic form. The best and most complete inventory of Palestinian place-names is Qustantīn Khammār, *Asmā' al-mawāqi' wa-l-mā'alim al-Tabī'iya wa-l-bashariya al-ma'rūfa fi Filastīn hattā l-'ām* 1948 (*Geographical and topographical names in Palestine up to the year* 1948). Beirut 1973 Stencil. Silsilat Kutub Filastīnīya no. 43. This list comprises names of cities and villages, but also deserted villages (*khirba*), the names of rivers and waters, hills and mountains as well as a certain number of tribal names. Al-Khāmmar's list gives the names alphabetically and indicates very briefly their approximate location. This list comprises some 5000 names; about 2,500 are the names of former or actually existing villages. For everybody who wants to study the Arabic place-names in Palestine, this book is the most obvious starting point. These place-names can easily be divided into those which are for the present-day Arab speaker etymologically clear, i.e. yield a meaning and those which are not. Those names which are for the present-day Arab speaker of unclear or opaque meaning or have no meaning at all must either stem from a form of Arabic in use previously or from a language which was used in Palestine before the introduction of Arabic. The question whether a place

name X has a lexical meaning can only be answered synchronically. If the answer is negative, the diachronic approach has to be used. The most important river in the area, the Jordan river, can be called today in Arabic *nahr al-Sharī'a* "river of the drinking place"; this name has a lexical meaning in the mind of the Arab speaker. A second name is, of course, *nahr Urdunn*, a name which yields no meaning to a speaker of present-day Arabic. Therefore the name Urdunn must come from an older linguistic stage.

One caveat has to be added. The fact that a place-name has a lexical meaning for the Arab speaker does not necessarily mean that the origin of the place-name is Arabic. The best example is the Lebanese place-name Djbail, Djubail, Byblos. Synchronically the name is a deminutive form of *gabal* "mountain" – an obvious meaning for a settlement. However, we happen to know that this place exists already in pre-Arabic documents of the second or third millennium B.C. in the form of *gubl* or the like. This name goes back to the time of the earliest Semitic settlements or even earlier. Our linguistic knowledge of this period is so scarce that we are in no position to assign a meaning to the place-name. The development of this place-name shows, moreover, that linguistic communities tend very often to interpret inherited names according to their own language and in this way a pre-Arabic name may Arabicized – wholly or partly – and in the former case become indistinguishable from an originally Arab place-name.

As to the lexicographical interpretation of Palestinian place-names, we have to remember that all interpretation is dependent on the possibility of tracing the name back to the form it had when it was given. Otherwise the original form of the name may be impossible to reconstruct. Where can we find Palestinian place-names attested? We can name the following groups of texts which may yield Palestinian place-names:

1. Ottoman fiscal and administrative documents, tax lists etc.
2. Arabic documents (*waqf*, monasteries)
3. Arabic geographical literature, travel descriptions (*rihla*), geographical dictionaries.
4. Arabic historical literature (chronicles from the time of the Crusades, the conquest of Palestine by the Muslim armies etc.).
5. European travel books in Latin, Middle High German etc.
6. Postbiblical rabbinical literature in Hebrew and Aramaic.
7. The Hebrew text of the Old Testament and cognate literature (Moab inscription, Lakhish letters, Dead Sea scrolls etc.).

8. Ancient oriental documents in Ancient Egyptian or Akkadian like the so-called Inprecation texts or the Amarna letters.

From this list we may eliminate the non-Semitic documents (Ottoman documents and writings in Indo-Europena languages), because in this type of writings the transcriptions and transliterations of Palestinian names are too imprecise and not reliable. If we look for names which can be traced in all or most the sources mentioned, we find that the number of Palestinian place-names with which we can deal becomes very limited. We have, it is true, very famous settlements like ʿAkkā, Ghazza, Yāfā or the name of the river Urdunn, which can be traced back to the earliest written sources. We have considerably more material if we take the place-names attested in the Old Testament like Bet Lekhem (Bait Lahm) B'er Sheva' (Bīr as-sab'), but we are still left with not more than a few dozen place-names. Aramaic place-names of this area have not been systematically investigated, so it may seem that looking for pre-Arabic place-names will not carry us any further.

There is, however, a way open to us which starts out precisely with the Arab place-names as found today and tries to establish certain types of names which may be assigned to certain linguistic layers of names. A short look into the linguistic history of Palestine will put this into perspective. Between the fourteenth and the 12th century B.C. a Canaanite language was spoken in Palestine. We know little more about it than that it existed, except through the Canaanite glosses and "Canaanisms" of the Amarna letters. Some sound changes are, however, apparent even in the scarce material which us at our disposal (for example ā – ō). When another wave of Semitic speaking peoples was attracted to the lands of the Fertile Crescent from the Syrian desert, in the 13th century B.C, we find the Israelite nomads coming into the country. They spoke a language close to what we know as Ancient Aramaic. They took over the language of Canaan, not without influencing it. The result of this process is what we call classical Hebrew. Hebrew, the language of the Old Testament, was later superseded by Aramaic; Aramaic became the lingua franca of the Near East. Hebrew became the language of Jewish religion, literature and the educated. When precisely this process ended in Palestine is a matter of some dispute; Christ spoke Aramaic as his mother tongue, but Hebrew may still have been the spoken language in some areas. In the 3rd century A.D. Hebrew is definitely superseded by Aramaic as a spoken language in Palestine. We have to assume in any case a long period of bilingualism in which a Aramaic gradually took the place of Hebrew. In the 7th century Aramaic in its turn was gradually superseded by Arabic, the language of the Muslims. Also here we have to assume an extended period of bilingualism, in this case Aramaic-Arabic, which must have lasted for centuries. In Graeco-Roman times there was next to Hebrew and

Aramaic a third language, used by many educated persons and by the administration: Greek. So in some instances it is closer to the truth to speak of trilingualism.

If we now look for place-names of the different linguistic layers in Palestine, we find the following:

There is the oldest toponomastic layer of names attested in Hebrew sources and pre–Hebrew sources (Akkadian, Hieroglyphic Egyptian), names which are structurally and etymologically inexplicable with our present knowledge of Canaanite and Hebrew. Such names probably include the name of Jerusalem (Yerushalaim, Urushalim in its Arabic form) or the name of the river Jordan (Yarden, Urdunn). It is even possible that these names are pre–Semitic, just as the name of Damascus, Dimashq, Dammeseq defies all Semitic etymology. In all probability without getting lost in pure speculation, names like Yarden and Yerushalaim can be called pre–Canaanite.

The following layer is the Canaanite–Hebrew layer with names like Bet Lekhem (House of Bread). *B'ērōt* (Wells) etc. The next layer is the Aramaic layer with names like Bait Susin (House of the horses) or *Dārayyā* (Houses) .This layer goes together with Hellenistic names like Fandaqumiya *pentakomia* or *Nāblus* Neapolis, and finally we have the Arabic layer, with names too numerous to quote.

This very short outline of the linguistic history of Palestine shows that we may expect a considerable layer of pre–Arab place–names of Aramaic origin. The vast majority of Palestine place–names as found in Khammar's list is not attested in any older source. Is there any possibility of identifying pre–Arab names without having the possibility of checking them in pre–Arab sources? This possiblity does, indeed, exist. The method consists of the observation of certain types of place names, which according to certain criteria are Aramaic. How can one try to identify present–day place–names as originally Aramaic? The basis of the argument is that in Aramaic as in Arabic and most other Semitic languages place–names are usually nouns. Now we know which endings Aramaic nouns can have. The Aramaic noun exists in three socalled 'states', the absolute, the construct and the determined or emphatic state: *mlek* (Absolute) is 'king', *mlek*.... in the Construct is 'king of .... and *malkā* (determined or emphatic)' the king'; *malkā* (absolute) is 'queen', *malkat*... (construct) 'Queen of ...' and *malktā* (determined or emphatic) 'the queen'. The following endings are possible in Aramaic: zero ending: absolute masculine singular; zero–ending: construct masculine singular;–ā: determined masculine singular; –ā: absolute feminine singular; *–at*: construct feminine singular; *–tā* determined feminine singular; *–īn*:

absolute masculine plural; *ai* or *e*: construct masculine plural; *–ayyā* (in some dialects: *e*): determined masculine plural ;*an*: absolute feminine plural; the construct endings can be eliminated for our purposes because given the fact that the two nouns in a construct form a unity, the construct "ending" always occurs in the middle of a compound expression.

I shall give now some examples for Palestinian place–names of Aramaic origin according to this typology.

1. Determined Masculine Singular (ending–ā)

Dūra dūrā 'village' small settlement'; Hirsha *hurshā* 'forest' *Zafna gupnā* 'vine'; *Shanna* <*shennā* 'rock, cliff'; Kfar sāba-: < *kpar sābā'* village of Sabas' Yarkā < *yirkā* 'mountain slope'; Bait Irza < *bet arzā'* house of the cedar'; Masha < *mishā* ,oil'; Bait Gidyā < bet gadyā 'house of the kid'; Isna < *asnā* 'blackberry'; kafr Baita < *kpār baitā* "Village of the house"; Ginsinya: < *gan sanyā* "garden of blackberry"; Tūra < *tūrā* "mountain"; Kafr 'Ana < *kpar ānā* "village of the cattle"; *Resha* < *reshā* "top (of a hill)"; Zaita < *zaita* "oil".

2. Determined Feminine Singular (ending–*tā*)

Barta *bartā* "daughter"; Hanuta < *hānūtā* "shop"; Hzirta < *hzīrtā* "sow"; 'Anabta < *'enbtā* "grape"; Ramta < *rāmtā* "Hill"; Rumailta < *deminutive* of *Rmaltā* < *armaltā* "widow"; Fra'ta < *pra'ta* "flower"; Wadi Gannta < *ganntā* "garden"; (Hirbet) Sa'rātā < *s'ārtā* "grain"; Arabīta < *arabaytā* "Arab (fem.)".

3. Absolute Masculine Plural (Ending *–īn*)

Bait Sūsīn < *bet sūsīn* " house of the horses "; Hittin < *Hattīn* "wheat"; Dikrin < *dekrīn* "rams"; Bi'līn < *ba'līn* "baal–gods"; Bait Bazzīn < *bet bazzīn* "House of the falcons"; Burīn < *borīn* "cisterns"; Burqīn < *barqīn* "lightnings"; Bait Umrīn < *bet emrīn* "House of sheep"; Zammārīn < *zammārīn* "singers"; Gillīn < *gallīn* "stone terraces"; Rāsīn < *rēshīn* "tops"; Zar'īn < *zar'īn* "seeds"; Srīfīn < *sripīn* "huts"; Anīn < *ānīn* "cattle";

4. Determined Masculine Plural (ending – *ayyā*)

Dārayya < *dārayyā* "houses"; Kafrayya < *kaprayyā* "villages";

5. Determined Feminine Plural (ending–*ātā*)

Anāta < *ānātā* "cattle"; Sabāta < *sābātā* "old women"; Qarhāta *qurhātā* "bald, empty slopes"; Ǧammāta < *gummātā* (Syriac *gummyātā*) "trenches".

Some other Aramaic types of nouns are not recognizable by their endings but by their morpbological formation. Palestinian place–names of the

formation If 'i/al, Uf'ul can go back to Aramaic simple nouns in the Absolute Masculine Singular. They belong to the Aramaic formation *p'e/a/ol.* Such names are e.g. Ibtin *boin bton* "terebinth". There are, of course, numerous pecularities in the formation of these place names. Aramaic *b* (spirantized) appcars usually as *b* in Arabic, sometimes as *w* e. g. 'Awarta < ʿ*bartā* "crossing place of a river"; Iswa < shba "seven".

An important phenomenon is what I have proposed to call the crossing of roots or an etymologizing effect. The Aramaic place–names have been taken over by speakers of Arabic in a long period of Aramaic–Arabic bilingualism, during which the originally Aramaic speaking population learned Arabic as a second language. Certain frequent correspondences of sounds which were known in nouns were then transferred to personal names and place–names. In this way place–names can be formed which are properly speaking neither purely Aramaic nor purely Arabic. An example is Kharabta. The underlying noun is Aramaic *hrabtā* "deserted village", but the initial consonant was changed to *h*, because the corresponding Arabic word was *khirba*. This tendency is even felt were no corresponding Arabic word existed E. g. Suhmāta goes back to; Aramaic *shehmātā* "the black ones" (feminine). Initial Aramaic *s* was changed by the Arab population to *sh*, bccause in countless Arabic words *s* was found where Aramaic showed *sh*.

Another very frequent type of a mixed Aramaic–Arabic formation is an Aramaic noun in the Arab deminutive form e.g. Hirbet Zwainīta *zwainītā* Arabic deminutive of Aramaic *zānītā* "whore".

The names ending in –iya (not: – īya !) are very often Greek names which were probably transmitted via Aramaic:

Qalūniya < Colonia; Qaisāriya < Caesarea

Suluqiya < Seleucia, Fandaqumiya < Pentacomia

Farūhiya < parochia ; Qūmiya < Qumia.

Because of the close similarity between Aramaic and Arabic it is many cases impossible to decide whether a given name is of Arabic of Aramaic descent. Bir Zaitā is Aramaic because of the ending –*ā* "well of oil", whereas Bīr Zait and Bir az–zait may be Arabic. So we have always to remember that a large percentage of names remains about the origins of which we never can be sure.

If we turn now to the Canaanite layer of place–names in Palestine, and try to isolate groups of present–day names with Canaanite endings or of Canaanite morphology. the situation is much more difficult than with Ara-

maic names. The ending of the Canaanite nouns are the following: masculine singular: zero; feminine singular: *-ā* or/a-*et*; mascuine plural :-*im*; feminine plural : -*ōt* ; dual:-*ayim*. Of these endings there are very few traces in Palestinian toponomy. The plural ending -*īm* seems only once preserved and even there only supported by strong literary tradition: Gabal Grizzīm is Biblical Har Grizzim. Of the Dual ending -*ayim* there is no trace at all. And the feminine pluralending -*ōt* fares a little better with Qaryūt Hebrew *qaryōt*, masoretic Hebrew *qriyōt* and perhaps Braikut *brekōt* "ponds".

The close relationship and similarity between the three languages involved, Canaanite, Aramaic, Arabic, becomes especially clear when we look at those nouns which are most commonly used to form compound place-names. The following Arabic first elements in compounds have their exact counterpart in Aramaic as well as in Canaanite : *'ain* "source", *bait* "house"; *bīr* "well", *karm* "vineyard", *mghāra* "cavern", *qabr* "grave", *qurna* "top (of a mountain, properly horn"), rās "top", tall "hill", gubb "cistern", gurn "threshing ground".

If we compare Palestinian place-names with Lebanese place-names we find that the Aramaic impact on Lebanese place-names is on the whole stronger than the one on Palestinian place-names. Two important Aramaic features, very well known in Lebanese place-names, are practically non-existent in Palestinian place-names. The first feature is the conservation of the old Aramaic construct form *kpar* of the word *kaprā* in compound place-names. Lebanon abounds in place-names like Kfar'abīda, Kfarhuna, Kfarsīma etc. In Palestinian place-names, however, the usual form of compounds with the same noun seems always to be Kafr: Kafr Tūt, Kafr Bir'im, Kafr Bītāt.

Now, place-names like Kafr 'Āna, Kafr Bītat, Kafr Sāba are certainly of Aramaic origin. At one time their form must have been Kfar.... Tūt, Kfar'āna etc. That the form Kfar.....is never preserved shows that in Lebanon Aramaic characteristics of place-names have been longer preserved or conversely that Arabisation of place-names has been slower in Lebanon than in Palestine. If this is true, it indicates that Aramaic was preserved longer in the Lebanese mountains than in Palestine, or that Arabic was taken over faster and more generally in Palestine than in Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. This impression is strengthened by the fact that Aramaic as a language in this area only survived in Bakh'a, Gubba'din and Ma'lūla, three villages in Anti-Lebanon.

Another Aramaism well known from Lebanese place-names and lacking in Palestinian ones is the formation of place-names with *b* as a shortening

of Aramaic *bēt*, construct of *bēt* "house". Lebanon knowns dozens of examples: Brummāna "House of the pomegrenade", Bsūs" house of the horse", Bdibba "House of the bear" etc. etc. In Mesopotamia, another region with an important layer of Aramaic names, a similar formation is known, producing place–names with a *bā* –prefix like Ba'ainata 'House of the Springs". This type of place names is practically non–existent in Palestine. There are, of course, numerous compounds with *bait* as first element, of which some are undoubtedly Aramaic: Bait Umrin "House of sheep", Bait Gidya "house of the kid", Bait Sūsīn" House of horses". But all show the full Arabic form of *bait*. The exceptions are very few: Baisān represents Bet Sh'ān, and Baisamūn is of unclear etymology. The mountain Bazita represents very probably *be zaitā*" place of oil", and Barza may be derived from *be arzā* "house of the cedar". The typically Lebanese shortening of *bēt* → *bē* → *b* is therefore very rarely preserved in Palestinian place–names.

The toponomastic situation in Palestine is, nevertheless, in most respects very similar to the toponomastic situation in Lebanon. The close affinity of the three main languages following each other Canaanite, Aramaic, Arabic was the reason that place–names were easily assimilated from the substratum to the superstratum. As far as the origin is concerned, we find in Palestine a few names which are Canaanite and attested in pre– Aramaic documents, a layer of Aramaic names and then the numerically by far most important layer: the layer of Arab names.

In concluding this paper I want to draw your attention to one of the many unsolved mysteries and challenges to the scholar which still surround Palestinian toponymy. I have already mentioned the pre–Canaanite names, preserved in Hebrew and non–Hebrew sources which defy analysis so far. The list of similar names which structurally seem Canaanite is quite long. A name like Yrē/īho, certainly a very old name for one of the oldest constantly inhabited places in the Near East is a case in point. Yreho becomes via Aramaic in the mouth of an Arab speaking population Arīha (and even Rīha). There are two important developments: the Cannaantie prefixed *y-* is replaced in Arabic by the glottal stop' – a development which finds its obvious parallel in the development of Yerushalaim→Urushalim. The second important feature is the presentation of the ending *–o* by *ā*–another phenomenon which we can find in names like Akkā Akko, Yāfā Yāpo etc. Again we do not know what this ending *–o* means; in some cases it seems like a shortening of *-ōn*. In the case of Yafa → *yāpo* and connection with *yāpā* "beautiful" (fem.) seems to impose itself, but the hypothesis cannot be proved. For 'Akkā → 'Akko, we suppose that a root *'kk* has to be invoked but cannot assign any meaning to it.

On the whole there is much more about Palestinian place-names that we do not know than that we know. Let me give you a final example. The Arabic name Filastin goes back directly to the Graeco-Roman administrative entity, Palestine, palaistine. "The name was used by Herodotus and other Greek and Latin authors to designate the Philistine coastlands and sometimes also the territory east of it as far as the Arabian desert." El). The Greek name palaistine goes directly back to Aramaic *plīshtā in* Philistines", which in turn reflects the Hebrew designation *plishtim* "Philistines", a plural of *plishti* "Philistines". This is an adjective derived from a name which is in the Hebrew sources *pleshet*, in Akkadian *palashtu*, in Hieroglyphic Egyptian something like *Purasati*. This name is in all likelihood derived from a self-designation which the socalled Sea Peoples used, who invaded Palestine from the islands and shores of the Northern Mediterranean approximately at the same time as the invasion of the Israelites from the East (12 century B.C.). We know something about the pottery of these Sea Peoples, but we know nothing about their language. So in all likelihood we shall never known what the name Filastīn originally meant; we have even to confess that we do not know which language it must be traced back to.

H. J. Franken
Leiden The Netherlands

THE OLD TESTAMENT, THE THEOLOGIANS AND THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS

It is a well-known fact that the Old Testament has been used in the past as a principle of explanation in Biblical archaeology. From the vast amount of popular books and articles about the Bible and archaeology one easily gets the impression that the Christian theological world has accepted this close link between the text of the Old Testament and the results of archaeology. This is by no means true.

In general there are four different concepts or attitudes in the Christian churches regarding archaeology. The first one is negative, and born from the conviction that the text of the Old Testament is completely and literally inspired, has no mistakes, and is to be accepted as the divine truth.

This concept is often called fundamentalistic. It is only and exclusively the inspired text that matters, and one should not accept the results of Biblical archaeology as having anything to do with faith. In contrast to the tangible products of excavation,« faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen» (Hebrews 11:1).

The second group comprises many Protestant denominations and churches that are not strictly speaking fundamentalistic. Protestant people are inclined to believe that the text of the Bible is mostly reliable in a religious and in a historical sense. They appreciate every shred of archaeological evidence that may strengthen the authority of the Scriptures and demonstrate the reliability of the historical narratives found in the Old Testament. Here is felt the need for apologetic activities, and money for excavations often comes from institutions that are supported by this group of Christians and churches.

The third group is that of liberal christianity, which is by and large not interested in archaeological activities in the Holy Land, because the historical trustworthiness of the Bible is considered immaterial. It is not a group without religion and only concerned with ethics, but stress is on the present; there is a quest for religious values to be maintained or recaptured in our times. To this group many of the results of Bibliocal archaeology

sound rediculous. Whoever would wish to make a search for the tomb of Moses when it is very doubtful whether Moses ever existed? Today such an attitude towards the historicity of Moses sounds a bit old-fashioned, but in the recent past attempts have been made by a biblical archaeologist to find and excavate the tomb of Moses, in obvious violation of the religious meaning of the Bible text which reads: «No man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day» (Deuteronomy 34:6b). If the liberal attitude is old-fashioned, the search for Moses' tomb is sheer sacrilege. This is very briefly and generalizing the attitude of the Protestant churches of the West.

The fourth group is found in the Roman Catholic church which exhibits an attitude which is fundamentally different from that of the Protestant groups. The Catholic church is concerned with those incidents related in the New Testament that have special importance to the believers, and at the sites where these incidents are supposed to have happened a pilgrim's church has been built for contemplation, prayer, and the Mass. This points to a purely religious interest in the sites, and whether the church has been erected on the right location is not a matter which can be determined by historical or archaeological research.

Having taken a brief look at the Christian churches one's attention is turned to the international world of Biblical scholars, who are organized in, for instance, the « International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament ». Looking at the attitude of these scholars towards archaeology, in general terms again, one finds that many of them are not interested in archaeological research. The majority of those who are interested are found in the middle orthodox group. Scholars with a liberal background are probably the least interested. Certainly, the attitude of the scholars of various backgrounds is inspired by their profound interest in the written documents. They apply highly developed methods of research, they use ancient inscriptions found in any part of the Near East for comparison with Bible texts, and they study grammar and vocabulary of the many related languages. One of the most notorious and well-known representatives of this type of scholar was W. F. Albright. Albright attached great importance to archaeological research, and he was an outstanding linguist. He advocated that archaeologists in Palestine should be linguists studyi g the Semitic languages. But there are also a large number of Biblical scholars who are not at all interested in antiquities, unless such antiquities consist of texts. Any text may be a great help in clarifying some word or expression in the Old Testament – but what to do with mute material witnesses of the past, such as pottery? These scholars we will not meet in the field of excavation.

As far as they are interested in a reconstruction of the history of Palestine in Biblical times, they again attach little value to archaeological results. Why is this so?

In this group of scholars it is often accepted that there was never such a historical event as an invasion into Palestine by twelve Israelite tribes under the guidance of Joshua. The Biblical story is well known. The tribes cross the River Jordan, and the first bit of land which they take into possession is the land and the town of Jericho. According to these scholars the analysis of the text shows that there was a far more complicated process of movements of tribes, possibly of infiltration or assimilation and slow settlement in the mountainous areas, and that there is no real historical evidence for a siege of Jericho. In their view Joshua was a popular hero who once operated north of Jerusalem, and to whom all kinds of heroic deeds were attributed in the course of centuries. While such a picture of the historical course of events is distilled from an analysis of the Biblical texts themselves, no archaeologist digging up Jericho, be it such famous people like Sellin, Garstang or Kenyon, can shake this result of their study of the text. I am inclined to think that when in the thirties Garstang's reconstruction of the fall of Jericho became known to these scholars, this was one of the occasions where they decided that they would have nothing to do with archaeology. And in this case they were right.

In order to explain this attitude further, it is probably best to take the attitude of certain Catholic scholars as an example. They often think that the Old Testament as a whole is not for a general public. It easily confuses the readers. Apart from this, they point to two levels of thinking or of spiritual activity. One is the level of devotion, of contemplation, of contact with the spiritual world. Another level, which does not really have to be in conflict with the first one, is that of a modern scientific search into what really happened in history. The Jericho story is a typical prophetic theme based on a priestly theme. It is certainly not a military story. The priestly part of the story is the sacrifice. One easily forgets that Jericho, according to the Biblical story, was not destroyed by the Israelites. They walked around the city but did not attack it. The city fell through an act of God. That is a pure example of what a sacrifice is: it is an act of God. That is the priestly side of it. The prophetic elements is a different one. It is a message that, whenever the people of Israel think that they can conquer the land by their own force and be proud of their own power, God will take the land away from them. This is a message which is found repeatedly in the prophetic texts. Deuteronomy 8:17, « And thou say in thine heart, My power and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. » See also Amos 6:13.

These two motives have a deep religious meaning. The priestly sacrifice has only relevance if it is in accordance with the prophetic message. And so the story can be taken as a sermon. Its value as a sermon is by no means invalidated when it appears that historically there was no fall of Jericho. The sermon is in agreement with essential aspects of the message of the Old Testament. Christians with a Calvinist background will then point to the story of the sacrifice of Christ in the New Testament as the perfection of the two aspects; the priestly and the prophetic aspect, in the combination of which is salvation. Suspicion concerning the historicity of the events mentioned in the story does not diminish its religious meaning.

In philosophical terms this may be called different levels of discourse. One is the religious level, and the other the scientific-historical level. There may be more of such levels, for instance the ethical level. It is thought that two or three approaches to the story are on different levels, therefore they do not clash; there is no real contact and therefore no contradiction. To sum up: When Biblical scholars are interested in the texts of the books of Joshua and Judges, this does not imply that they accept the stories of the Bible at their face value. And if they don't, this does not mean that they turn to archaeology to find out about the historical truth. One should not forget that basically their interest is focussed on linguistics and much less on history. Biblical scholars try to reconstruct the writings and their meaning, and they are reluctant to jump to conclusions about what is behind these writings, because that is not the realm of linguitics.

My impression is that at present there are not many great historians of the Iron Age I period amongst either linguists or archaeologists. Following is a short discussion of the problem of historicity of Biblical stories that are thought to refer to the history of the end of the Late Bronze Age and the early Iron Age in Palestine, the 13th–11th cent. BC. It is not my purpose to give the latest information on this subject. Rather I try to show where the lines of devolopment of thought started and what the great issues are in the context of a scientific approach to the problem of the relation between the ancient texts and archaeology. Therefore one has to consider the controversies amongs scholars who claim to have developed a scientific approach to the relationship between the Biblical texts and archaeology. These controversies are exemplified by the attitude of W. F. Albright on the one side and A. Alt on the other. They both turned to archaeology as a source of evidence to find support for their theories about the degree of reliability of Biblical information concerning the history of the primitive Hebrew tribes. Most archaeologists are familiar with the work done by Albright; Alt is much less known.

Paul Lapp discussed the position of the two lines of thought in 1967.[1] He admits that the destruction of cities at the end of the Late Bronze Age was dated by archaeologists in previous decades precisely in the Biblical connections. yet, more recent and clear evidence the light of seems clearly to vindicate the chronological precision thus secured. How far can the method of treating the Biblical traditions as reliable historical documents, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, be admitted by the archaeologists or the historian? This is basically a matter of judgement. If a critical construction derived from maximal utilization of primary historical documents and archaeological evidence so closely corresponds to the Biblical–historical tradition, would not a failure to employ this principle be *contra scientam*? On the other hand, we dare not minimize the danger that this method may turn into an assumption which, in dealing with either Biblical or archaeological material, may override systematic and critical examination of the evidence. The voice of the Alt school provides the criticism that forces followers of Albright to face seriously the possibility that they have gone beyond the province of sound judgement in their historical reconstructions. Yet this writer tends to feel more comfortable in the Albright tradition, if this basically means constructing the most detailed correlative hypothesis permitted by the evidence, for such reconstructions make possible the immediate synthesis of new material, no matter to what extent it transforms the hypothesis. »

The thesis put forward by Lapp reads: 'A critical construction derived from maximal utilization of primary documents and archaeological evidence corresponds closely to the Biblical–historical tradition.'

One can put this more simply as follows. It is not so much the method of reconstructing history from Biblica sourcesl employed by Alt which is questioned. But when the results of the studies of the Alt school are compared with the results of the excavations it turns out that the excavation results (in combination with 'primary historical documents') support a far more moderate critical attitude towards the Biblical texts. This moderate attitude is found with Albright and his followers. Ideally Albright and Alt are on the same wavelength in their scientific approach to Biblical texts, but the messages are different.

What made Lapp think that the archaeological evidence corresponds closely to the Biblical–historical tradition? It is the correlation between towns that were destroyed in the period in which the Joshua campaigns are dated by the Biblical archaeologists, and that have been identified with Biblical names; the break in the Late Bronze Age tradition is testified by archaeological finds, and these correlate in time with Biblical dates for the Joshua campaigns. It is the pottery on the evidence of which the destruction

of the towns, the break at the end of the Late Bronze Age culture, the coming of the Israelites and, strange enough, the pottery is dated: a perfect example of circular reasoning.

Alt and his followers do not agree with these correlations. In order to explain this I have to sketch briefly the influence of the analytical text studies of scholars in the last century, Kuenen and Wellhausen, on Alt and his followers. Scholars who accept Kuenen and Wellhausen's theory recognise that the order in which the history of the people of Israel is presented in the Old Testament is not the order of the historical events, but an order composed by religious leaders of the people. It was mainly developed during and after the Assyrian occupation of Palestine, roughly in the 7th cent. BC and after. In this period the general framework for the composition of a coherent history of the people of Israel was sketched and many scattered pieces of historical information were gathered and put in a logical, but not necessarily historical order. The concept was a religious one. Slowly there emerged a history of the Patriarchs, the sojourn in Egypt, the Exodus, the leadership of Moses, and the conquest of the land by Joshua. It took much writing and rewriting before, during and after the Babylonian Exile before the present text of the history took shape. Ie included the first five books of the Bible, or the Pentateuch, and the Book of Joshua describing the conquest. It is thought that the Pentateuch in its present shape dates from after the Exile, about 400 BC. The Book of Joshua did not obtain its present shape until about 200 BC. All these books contain both old and young to very late historical and quasi historical information.

For over a hundred years scholars have been trying to reconstruct the the history of these texts along these lines. From these reconstructions they have tried to build up the 'true' early history of the people of Israel. There is a lot of controversy about many details, but on the whole the arguments for this analytical text approach are convincing, because they are based on modern principles of reconstructing history from ancient documents.

Alt introduced a method of research which became known as ,territorial-geschichtliche Forschung' or research into territorial history. Alt decided that the Old Testament did not provide us with sufficiently reliable information about what happened before the time of the first Kingdom, which was the Kingdom of Saul, just before 1000 BC.[2] In his views Israel's own memories of the time of the wanderings and the capture of the land are about the only and certainly the most important sources for our knowledge of that period. The Old Testament, however, has obviously preserved these memories in a far too fragmentary state and often in a young version, so that not all the information which is needed to reconstruct the history of

the Hebrew tribes can be obtained. Alt rightly remarks that scholars are inclined to fill the gaps in our knowledge hypothetically. But, he says, the more this picture is completed in this way, the less reliable it becomes. Alt then turns to Egyptian sources, mainly the lists of towns of Thotmosis III (1469–1436 BC) and the archives of Amenophis IV (1367–1350 BC), from which he sketches the situation in Palestine as it was during the 18th Dynasty.

About the area to the south of Hebron there is no information. Jerusalem was the capital of a small kingdom. North of Jerusalem, at Shechem, was the Kingdom of Labaja. The western coastal area and the northern land from Megiddo to Beisan were divided into small kingdoms, all of which were under domination of the 18th Dynasty. Alt thinks that the mountainous area was still thickly forested. For Alt the next reliable document about the situation in the country is found in Book of Judges, Ch. I, which according to him was written shortly before the first Israelite Kingdom (second half of the 11th cent. BC). In this period the Philistines and related peoples settled along the entire coastal area. They took over most of the small city–kingdoms. Of the other city–states to the north of the Samaria mountains many are still intact. In Alt's reconstruction the Israelite Kingdom under King Saul comprised part of the Ajlun across the Jordan, also what is at present occupied territory of the West Bank, not including Jerusalem and some areas in Galilee and not including the coastal area. This reflects the situation about 1000 BC. The main difference with the situation during the 18th Dynasty is that instead of the city–states there are larger national units: Philistines, Israelites, Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, Aramaeans.

Here I add some remarks by M. Noth, who carried on along the lines of research developed by Alt: « It is theory that in the time of the Judges, or at any later time, all of Palestine belonged to the Israelite tribes. Rather ‚Canaanites' maintained themselves in various parts of the land; the Philistines, as well, always occupied areas adjacent to Israel. Thus the notion that the entire land was possessed by the tribes is only claim, not fact. »[3].

I shall not go into details concerning Alt's reconstruction of what happened in 350 years between the Amarna period and the days of King Saul. Instead of the traditional picture of twelve tribes crossing the Jordan and somehow taking possession of the land, there seems to have been a very slow build–up of larger units of tribes, tribes that came and sometimes disappeared again, even before the time of which we have a more reliable historical picture. It can be textually demonstrated, just to mention one exa-

mple, that three of the six earliest tribes, Reuben, Simeon and Levi, had already nearly finished to exist by the time for which the Old Testament provides historical records. Reuben and Simeon may have been living near Shechem, but when this was is not known. Although the Biblical writer puts Reuben on the map in the area between the river Jordan and the Dead Sea on the West Bank, and Hesbon and Madaba on the East Bank, this reconstruction is entirely based on ideas of a later redactor of the system of tribal borders. He divided the originally unified tribal area in the Belqa in Transjordan in two by an imaginary line of demarcation, ascribing the southern half thus constructed to Reuben (Joshua 13: 15–23). In short, the redactor of the Deuteronomic tradition places this tribe in the Belqa at a time when the tribe had virtually finished to exist, and at a location it had probably never seen. Finally, the date which is normally accepted by archaeologists for the Conquest, the last quarter of the 13th cent. BC, does not mark any conquest but denotes a period from which the tribes began to develop a more nationalistic character.

Apart from this information which is relevant for my argument I mention two dates worked out by the Kuenen–Wellhausen school. The promise of the land of Canaan to the Israelites by their God is attributed to an author who wrote parts of the first books of the Old Testament (called the J–author in text–criticism) and who worked semetime between 900 and 700 BC, and the extension of the promise with the words« from the wadi of Egypt to the great river, the the river Furat» is thought to have been added just before or during the Babylonian exile (586–538 BC).

I do not claim that what is described here as results of the critical school is quite up–to–date.
Not only German or Dutch scholars are following this line of research; one finds them all over Europe and in the USA.

The thesis of Lapp, « A critical construction derived from maximal utilization of primary historical documents and archaeological evidence corresponds closely to the Biblical–historical tradition», has been contested by Noth and Weippert, not only as far as the text–critical studies are concerned but also for the archaeological evidence. From my researches I am convinced that the archaeological evidence is not wat it seemed to be in the days of the great post World war II leaders in the field of Palestinian archaeology.

The question is: what is really known about the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age? Another rather crucial question is: how do we recognize early Israelite tribes in the period just mentioned?

It is not true that archaeologists can recognize them on purely archaeological evidence. On the contrary, an enormous amount of external evidence is used in descriptions of so-called archaeological evidence. Biblical archaeology brings the two together inter alia by sticking Biblical stories onto an archaeological map. This is not a scientific way of finding the historical truth. The system breaks down as soon as one goes into details with regard to the archaeological evidence. Often the 'proof' is based on external evidence and circular reasoning. The circular reasoning runs as follows: Every town destroyed near the end of the 13th cent. BC was destroyed by Israelites, because they came at that time. Why did they come at that particular time? Because so many towns were destroyed at that time. Or: Twelfth cent. pottery is made by the Israelites, so wherever this pottery is found it indicates Israelites and the 12th cent. BC, and this confirms the date of the Conquest. This is archaeology without explanation. If the theory of 12th cent. Palestinian pottery is accepted as indicating the presence of Israelites, then there have never been any Israelite tribes in Transjordan, because there is no 12th cent. Palestinian pottery in Jordan. Pottery is not a sure indication. It cannot be used to indicate to what extent Palestine was inhabited by Israelite tribes. Many methods of interpreting archaeological finds could be criticized, but also some other deficiencies in archaeological studies should be mentioned.

World archaeology has been changing the last twenty years. This is mainly because archaeologists have found too many mistakes in the traditional system of explanation. They have discovered that a change of certain cultural aspects in the archaeological record does not necessarily mean a change of population. Different pottery shapes do not necessarily point to different potters, let alone different customers. It has also become clear that the archaeological record may bring to light other situations than would be expected on the ground of historical records.[4] Such criticisms force the archaeologist to reconsider his ways and methods of interpretation. Biblical archaeology has made interpretation far too easy by indiscriminately using the so-called Biblical evidence as a system of interpretation. Where this leads to can be seen when archaeology becomes a hunting-ground for politicians and political parties. Some archaeologists say that Biblical archaeology now belongs to the past. I am not convinced of this. It may have been abandoned by some on practical or theoretical grounds.[5]

Seen in the light of the new developments in world archaeology most of the publications on Palestinian archaeology are rather poor. Usually they start with the identification of the site, which makes one suspect that the excavator had already established the identity before he or she started to dig. Some of the American archaeologists have categorically stated in the

past that one cannot excavate an Iron Age tell in Palestine unless one knows the Hebrew language. In the same way others seem to think that one cannot excavate a tell without knowing which Biblical place it was. Such ideas are still alive. To my mind this may lead to defective excavation methods.

Another unwarranted opinion (or sacred cow) is that one ‚has to know the pottery'. As it appears now, pottery is fitted into chronological and even ethnological schemes that have nothing to do with the pots but are no longer open to correction. Because great authorities have declared that 12th cent. pottery is 12th cent. pottery, it will always remain so unless one tries to break open the system. Then it appears that 12th cent. pottery can very well be 13th cent. or 11th cent. pottery. A very clear example of the failure of this closed system is the so-called Mamluk pottery found in Palestine. No one has ever asked where it came from, or noticed that it has the character of village pottery which does not originate from a town. Consequently, it occurs earlier in villages than in towns, and I am convinced that a number of sites in publications are mistakenly called Mamluk. I strongly object to this way of ‚knowing pottery'.[6]

A similar problem is the Iron Age pottery in Palestine. The existing theories about its originating in the 12th cent. BC are not based on any factual evidence. How, for instance, does one explain why Jebusite potters in Jerusalem before it was captured by King David, did not continue to make Late Bronze Age pottery up to the end of the 11th cent. BC? This is a rhetorical question. It is merely intended to show that one can no longer rely on the established methods of interpreting archaeological pottery finds as adopted by our predecessors. There is far too much repetition of what is accepted; there are large mental barriers blocking the way for new and fresh evidence, and very often nothing new comes out of that work: it has become almost as sterile as the rock on which the sites are founded.

There seems to be a total redundancy in results from excavations, and if this picture is not entirely true, it is strongly suggested by the fact that the information largely comes from preliminary reports in which certain statements are made, and which are not followed by publications warranting these statements. There is nothing against preliminary reports, but looking at Kenyon's book *Digging up Jerusalem*[7] one finds that she repeatedly refers to further study which still has to be performed in order to substantiate what she writes. I am inclined to trust her judgement, but I cannot use her ideas as long as I have not seen the evidence in print.

The total redundancy in Palestinian archaeology is best seen when the amount of digging that is going on is compared with the production of fresh

ideas coming out of it: practically nothing. Palestinian archaeology of Biblical times is the prisoner of its own methods. It is very difficult to get out of this situation.

Leaving the Old Testament out of consideration for a moment, and looking at the situation in Palestine in the Late Bronze and Iron Ages, can one see a different pattern of habitation between the two periods? Is the pottery so much different? If so, one has to show how the differences were brought about, and if and how they are related to a different background.

Taking pottery as an example in the period from about 1600 to 600 BC one could indicate slow changes that took place in the potter's craft–attempts to improve the product – and show where the production went wrong or declined. One could find the technical reasons for the potters to change their decoration methods, and mark the various techniques of making pottery. Moreover, one could demonstrate that a good wheel was not used before the 7th cent. BC, and thereafter only in a limited way. There has been a constant flow of technical changes through these centuries, but the few points of real technical innovation have not yet been described, apart from the work done at Deir ᶜAlla.[8] Most archaeologists are not even aware of the existence of these innovations.

I suggested to leave the Old Testament aside for one moment. This is probably considered a deadly sin by some colleagues. Yet, as a new approach to the study of archaeological material it will force one to see what value the material has by itself. Then one will reconsider such axioms as 12th cent. pottery indicates the 12 century. Maybe the well–known tangle of 8th–7th cent. pottery will then be solved. Instead of knowing the pottery one will have to go into details again, and study some aspects which have been neglected up till now, such as manufacturing methods, colour of the ware at higher temperatures, proper analysis of tempering materials, presence or absence of microfossils, and technical surface treatment. These are tests that can be carried out without using expensive apparatus. Much can be done by material study. But what is needed most urgently is the recognition that the big mistake of Biblical archaeology was and still is that it jumps from observation to conclusions, instead of going through the stage of explanation. Neither observation nor conclusion have any explanatory value. In this respect I agree with the New Archaeologists when they insist that observation does not increase our knowledge. Nor does conclusion without explanation.

I hope that I have made clear that the attempts to link excavation results with Biblical evidence about the proto–history of Israel is not even

worth the effort at present. Looking for the activities of Joshua in the archaeological record is simply doomed to fail as long as Joshua has not been put in a true historical perspective, and archaeological interpretation and explanation are not effected on a more scientific basis. It is only when the two disciplines are left in their own right and are treated to their own nature that one can experiment with bringing historical research and archaeology together. In view of the present state of total confusion I would suggest that for the time being the two be kept as far apart as possible.

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GIORGIO BUCCELLATI

University of Califorina, Los Angeles (U. S. A.)

ARCHAEOLOGY AND « BIBLICAL » ARCHAEOLOGY

1. Archaeology.
2. Archaeology as stratigraphic analysis.
3. Archaeology as the study of broken traditions.
4. « Biblical » and other archaeologies.
5. References.

Archaeology is developing more and more as an autonomous discipline, based on internal standards rather than on criteria borrowed from other disciplines. Many developments have taken place along these lines, from the so-called « New Archaeology » to ethno-archaeology, spatial archaeology, etc. The common denominator is a concern for the archaeological record as such, and for an organic reconstruction of the society from which such a record originated. I like to call this approach «Structural archaeology» and to distinguish two diverse, though interrelated, dimensions in the discipline. The first pertains to archaeology «stricto sensu» as stratigraphic analysis of cultural deposition: here the analysis is based on a good theoretical model of the depositional process, and on a sophisticated method of recording stratification. The second task of structural archaeology is the reconstruction of « broken » traditions, i. e. traditions for which much of the evidence has become detached from a living social carrier.

In this light, « Biblical » archaeology is a concept of limited relevance. What matters most is the reconstruction of the entire social framework of which the Bible is only a portion. Hence, we deal with a socio-political and cultural system, in a given geographical setting, with its own system configuration, derived from all the evidence available, i. e. artifactual, epigraphic, ethnographic, geographic — AND « Biblical, » where « Biblical»

refers to the continuous manuscript tradition. « Palestinian » archaeology is thus a better intellectual construct, if we are to deal with the pertinent social group as a whole, and not just with a fragment, however important, of its literary and religious tradition. « Biblical » archaeology, on the other hand, has a much more limited range of meaning, much as « Ciceronian » archaeology would be more limited than, and could not possibly be equated with, « Roman » archaeology.

1) *Archaeology*:

A common sense understanding of archaeology equates it with the study of artifacts used in everyday life, i. e. items of material culture. The line of demarcation becomes somewhat blurred when these items are works of art or architecture. From this point of view, kitchen pottery and arrowheads are «definitely» archaeological; on the other hand, frescoes and, say, a standing building are more likely to be considered within the purview of history of art and architecture.

Another common sense understanding of archaeology equates it with ancient history, and even more with prehistory. The more remote our past is, the more likely it is to be considered archaeological. Neanderthal man, Schliemann's Troy, Tutankhamon's tomb are explicit points of reference in this respect, to everybody's apparent satisfaction. They are pieces of a puzzle which is situated in some very remote past, so distant in fact in time that they come to be embedded in the ground and could only be recovered through excavation or through some accident which brought them back to light.

The fact of the excavation is the other hallmark of archaeology in common sense parlance: an archaeologist is someone who digs, who finds things that are not already extant in our manifest cultural tradition. The Sistine chapel or the Omayyad mosque are not properly « found, » because they are there for everybody to see. The tomb of Alexander, on the other hand, or the royal archives of Ebla had to be unearthed, and hence «found».

These meanings which we have been reviewing are vague and approximate, albeit in common use. If archaeology is viewed as dealing with ancient history, why is the Parthenon considered archaeological, but not Aristotle who was its contemporary ? And where does, in any case, the ancient and archaeological end and the modern begin? Why is the tomb of Tutankhamon considered archaeological, but not Michelangelo's tombs of the Medici's? And if excavation is to be the hallmark of archaeology, why is the Coloseum archaeological, if it is standing unburdened by strata or layers? If the criterion is to be material culture, why isn't there an archaeology of modern pottery or plastic wares?

We will, in this paper, strive for a definition of archaeology, and will use it in turn for a better understanding of what « Biblical » archaeology might be. It is more than a question of terminology when we admit being concerned with problems of definition. If it might seem otherwise, if concern for definitions might seem like a vain battle against windmills, it is perhaps because of a confusion between definition and definitions. The latter, and looser, sense of the term implies no more than a common sense approach to the task of segmenting into conceptual categories the universe of discourse. Such are for instance the DEFINITIONS of a dictionary which are, in fact, periphrases or descriptions: Having established that a term refers to a given item (let's say a horse) one singles out those attributes in the same item which appear most distinctive (the facts of its being a quadruped, having a long tail, etc.), and one evokes thereby a picture to which the term can properly be said to apply. DEFINITION, on the other hand, as the act of defining, implies, in the stricter sense of the term, that we make explicit the boundaries of a concept by way of contrasting such concept with all pertinent concepts of a given structural system. One might say that in this second approach one is concerned not so much with what is WITHIN the boundaries of a concept, but rather with what is OUTSIDE of them; it is in fact the contrast with its immediate neighbors which brings out the maximum of explicitieness in circumscribing any part of a given whole.

Almost by way of a footnote, one may remark in this connection that the application of a binary system of contrasts has much in favor towards insuring a proper definition of concepts. By focusing on complete dichotomies, a binary system provides for the most explicit boundaries. Two components of a binary pair are intrinsically self–limiting, contrastive parts of a given whole—they are, as one would properly say, mutually exclusive. Such a complete discreteness is the best guarantee for effective analysis, a process whereby we «dissolve» (as etymology would have it) a given whole into its component parts. Such analysis or 'dissolution' will obviously be at its most successful if no room is left for overlaps among its 'dissolved' components—or, as one again would properly say, if the attributes are indeed mutually exclusive.

A concept, then, is defined by having its boundaries established vis–a–vis other concepts—the shaper the definition, the more powerful the concept. A concept exists in function of its boundaries, i. e., we recognize the boundaries first and then we name the concept which those boundaries in fact delimit. The term used for a concept is no more than a label which is applied to a segment of a structural system: the label as such has no concep-

tual power. It will appear from all this how the process of explanation is something more meaningful than a simple paraphrase: we are concerned with the structure of a conceptual system as a whole, which the correlation and reciprocal delimitation of its component parts, rather than with individual concepts in themselves.

2. *Archaeology as Stratifgraphic Analysis*

In a strict sense, archaeology is the study of cultural depositional history and the attendant technique used for its recovery, a technique which may be characterized as stratigraphic analysis. In the welter of archaeologies which enrich the current bibliographical offerings (from 'new' to 'Biblical', 'spatial' and other archaeologies) little attention has been paid to what constitutes in fact the most fundamental and unique aspect of the discipline. No other scholar but the archaeologist is concerned with (1) the understanding of how cultural data came to be embedded in the ground, (2) the development of techniques for disentangling these data according to demonstrable routines, and (3) the documentary recording for the process of stratigraphic recovery. As a result it is imperative that we develop sophisticated methods along these lines, and that we elaborate a theoretical scaffolding suitable for these phenomena. I have written on various occasions in recent years about this subject (Buccellati 1978, 1979, 1981), and I plan to come back in the near future to a volume which I have announced under the title: A Critique of Archaeological Reasoning — An Essay on Structural Archaeology. Here I can only review briefly some of the basic principles, by way of introduction to the considerations which will follow about the concept of 'Biblical' archaeology.

Deposition is a process by which cultural remains come to be embedded in the ground or rest over it. If there are universal laws which can be articulated for archaeology, it is especially in connection with the depositional process. Items may never have been displaced from their original location, in which case deposition is primary; or they may have been arranged in a structured intentional configuration; or again they may reflect a degree of permanence. All of these depositional phenomena may be grouped together under a major type which may be called EMPLACEMENT or INSTALLATION. A wall is a typical example of an emplacement which meets similar requirements: a storage pit, for instance, even if just cut roughly into the ground, is an intentional structure with a structured configuration and planned for permanent use. Other examples are compacted floor surfaces, laid pavements, aggregates of movable items, and even refuse heaps or middens.

A parallel major type is that of ACCUMULATION. In this case the the depositional process is characterized by a converse set of factors: the current location is most often not primary, but rather it results from a series of dislocations; the spatial configuration does not reflect an intentional and structured configuration, but is rather accidental and scattered; and except in case of protracted neglect, the arrangement is not permanent but rather ephemeral. An example of accumulation is a living floor, which is characterized by an unintentional clusterieng of items deposited through human use and physical processes; another example is a wall, where the scatter of bricks and mortar, in the specific spatial arrangement in which it is found, is secondary and unintentional even in the case of a willful destruction.

In either of its two aspects, deposition is a causal process whereby a given configuration in space comes into existence through a series of causes and events. There is in other words, a strict correlation between the arrangement of volumes in space and the sequence of events in time: this correlation is at the origin of depositional history, and its retrieval is the main goal of stratigraphic analysis.

There are formal controls which are possible – and these constitute the ground rules of stratigraphic analysis. A fundamental stratigraphic law is one which states that the alignment of HOMOGENEOUS ELEMENTS is indicative of emplacement, whereas the dispersion of homogeneous elements is indicative of accumulation. Thus, for example, a wall face is characracterized by a plane, i. e. an aligned sequence of particles along a flat surface – hence it is an installation. A wall fall, on the other hand, is characterized by a dispersion of homogeneous elements (brickbats, chuncks of mortar and plaster) – hence it is an accumulation.

Another formal control pertains to the nature of contacts among features. In one case there is direct or POSITIVE CONTACT: This means that distinct features are physically adjacent or that they intersect each other. For instance a layer on a wall is directly adjacent to the bricks, a bench may override a floor surface, a door jamb may be set into a door socket; or, as examples of intersecation, a foundation trench may cut through an existent floor, two bonded walls are set astride each other, a jar may be sunk into a soft floor surface. In the first case, two continuous surfaces are in parallel contact along their faces, while in the second case one volume cuts through a surface resulting in a marked discontinuity of its face.

The study of factors such as those just mentioned (arrangement of homogeneous elements, positive contacts among features) pertains to what

may be called PRIMARY STRATIGRAPHY. Here the depositional elements are viewed in terms of physical proximity and the correlations among them is concretely documentable. From the point of view of recovery strategy, the key element is the recognition of cleavage lines, and the reconstruction of their reciprocal hierarchy. Positive contact, whether of the intersecting ot the adjacent kind, shows in the form of cleavage lines on sections. Now sections are to be emphatically understood as planes cutting across volumes (for this see especially Buccellati 1981), so that the lines in question, even though by definition linear, are in fact indidicative of volumetric relationships.

SECONDARY STRATIGRAPHY, on the other hand, extrapolates from primary stratigraphy and from typology to account for the clustering of items which are not in direct contact. Their physical correlation is postulated on the basis of logical reasoning, which may become extremely complex. Two walls at some distance from each other may be considered to have been built at the same time if their foundation trenches are cut down from one and the same floor; on the other hand, the simple presence of a common floor for two walls implies only that they were used contemporaneously, but not necessarily that they were built at the same time. From the point of view of recovery strategy, the key element of secondary stratigraphy is the recognition of patterns of association among stationary units and movable items: logical reasoning develops correlations based on spatial relationships, and that is the basis for the recognition of associative links among features.

Stratigraphic analysis, then, is a retrieval system which operates on spatial relationships in order to conclude to temporal relationships. This means that spatial relationships are not viewed purely as volumetric data; rather, they are understood in terms of depositional causality. The logical complexity of the system is paralleled by the difficulty of physical recognition of pertinent patterns in the ground. Such recognition entails seeing the data at the intuitive level, reading them at a more conscious level, and finally externalizing the observed phenomena in a recorded form. All of this is what makes up, in my view, archaeology as an autonomous discipline in a strict sense.

3. *Archaelogy as the Study of Broken Traditions.*

In a broad sense, archaeology may be viewed as going beyond stratigraphy and its recording, and entering the area of interpretation. Typological analysis is not, properly speaking, archaeological in nature: it is carried out on the basis of attribute systems which are derived from other disciplines and which apply to any artifact, in fact to any intellectual construct. If

typology has a major role in archaeology, even archaeology in a strict sense, it is because of its importance in determining patterns of association at the level of secondary stratigraphy. Beyond typology, there is the integrative dimension of archaeology, whereby all pertinent data are brought together to describe the social configurations which lie behind the stratigraphic data, and to explain the developments which brought them about. To properly understand this broader acceptation of archaeology, it may be well to refer to the concept of chronological sequence.

The concept of present and past may be represented in the form of a linear sequence (the events) which are relative to a fixed point (the observer). There are two ways in which the relative position of the observer to the string of events is meaningful. On the one hand, the observer is the point of confluence of a historical chain of events which condition the observer himself. And on the other hand, the longer such a chain is, the smaller is the universe of data for any given segment of time, so that sampling problems increase. In other words, the observer is influenced by his own past, and the farther back he reaches the fewer data he has to work with.

A different conception of temporal relationships is described by the terms diachrony and synchrony. Here the events are viewed in themselves, rather than from the point of view of the observer. In the case of diachrony, the events are viewed in their reciprocal temporal relationship; in the case of synchrony, the data are viewed as affecting each other systemically, regardless of their reciprocal position in time.

In terms of diachrony, we may have an open or a closed chronological sequence. An open chronological sequence is a diachronic segment taken in itself, without regard to the other time spans. A closed chronological sequence, on the other hand, is a diachronic segment which does take into account other time spans; in turn, these time spans may be viewed in terms of partial sequences, or in terms of the total known time span, i. e. in relationship to us as observers.

An open chronological sequence is the one which I would assign specifically to archaeology *lato sensu* The specific task of archaeology in this respect is to integrate the data which come from an isolated segment of what is otherwise the continuum of human history. This is what I call a broken tradition—'broken' in the specific sense that there is no direct continuity to later chronological sequences and ultimately to ourselves as observers at the end of the entire sequence. Obviously no human tradition, to the extent that it is human, can be fully broken — otherwise it would be simply not understandable . But a tradition can be broken in the sense that at some

point there were no more human carriers who could hand it down to their successors, and that its memory faded from conscious awareness. Surely, its effects may have been felt for a long time to come, and thus its presence may continue at an unconscious collective level, But its total configuration as a cultural tradition was lost. The interpretive effort vis–a–vis the source materials is particularly difficult, and in any case it has an intellectual autonomy, a characteristic methodology which is not shared with other disciplines. It is what we may call archaeological historiography, as distinct from historiography proper, which deals, instead, with continuous traditions.

It is apparent that the primary concept of archaeology, as a discipline concerned with stratigraphic analysis of cultural deposition, is directly tied to this secondary concept of archaeology as the study of broken traditions. The latter, in fact, are normally retrieved through excavations, and the techniques of recovery of the data weigh heavily on the interpretation of the data themselves. But beyond this link, it is fair to say that the study of broken traditions requires methodolozical sophistication particularly in terms of distributional analysis. i. e. the study of patterned phenomena which declare their meaning through their own patterning, rather than through concomitant interpretations which accompany the primary data by way of a parallel exegesis.

The correlation of the primary and the secondary concepts of archaeology yields what I like to call structural archaeology: the intended match between depositional causality and stratigraphic analysis on the one hand, and the study of distributional classes of cultural patterning on the other hand are both typical, methodologically, of a structural approach. It is also the way in which the discipline acquires a distinctive physiognomy on a par with other disciplines such as linguistics.

If structural archaeology be considered a model, the standard deviation from it, and the worse, is to be found in antiquarianism. I am using here the term in a negative connotation, although there are certainly other contexts in which it may retain a positive value. The negative acceptation in which I use it here refers to an approach to the data which unduly mixes levels of analysis. How specifically does this happen? The answer is easy and the examples are many. When confronted with a given item, an antiquarian focuses on all the clues which are more or less apparent in the item and describes them as thoroughly as possible. Of a statue, for instance, he may describe the technique of execution, the stylistic preference, the cultural function. The argumentation will be based on what emerges from the object itself and on any comparative information which the researcher can bring to bear on any given aspect of the object. The process of analysis is then

conditioned by the specific clues which are apparent in the object, rather than by the context, or contexts, in which it had been embedded. When so performed, the avnalysis tends by necessity to shift focus from one level to the other—which in itself is legitimate and in fact productive. Where the harm comes in is when conclusions which are pertinent to a given domain of inquiry are drawn on the basis of a method which belongs to another domain. This is the undue mixing of levels of analysis in which I see the critical pitfall of antiquarianism.

Typical examples may be found by the score in the field of ancient Near Eastern archaeology. Here the strong pressure of Biblical interests has acted as an unfortunate incentive to 'transgress' from one domain to the other-with no worse example than the continuing developments concerning the Italian excavations at the great ancient site of Ebla. It is remarkable what a regurgitation of scholarly dregs this discovery has caused, to the point that not only its genuine, and unique, importance but also its real import for the Bible has been miserably vilified. The 'transgression' from one level to the other has resulted in this case, from the fact that unwarranted HISTORICAL consequences (within the domain of both polititical and religious history) were drawn from LINGUISTIC evidence. For instance: 'There are some textual parallels between Ebla and Hebrew personal names; Ebla is earlier than the Biblical texts, ergo Ebla is an antecedent of the Bible and thereby it enhances its historicity.' Here the fallacy lies in concluding from some parallels to a comparison of an entire cultural system, without regard for structural limitations. It also lies in considering two distinct chronological sequences as simply overlapping. And the ultimate fallcy lies in the introduction of spurions considerations (the historicity of the Bible) which condition the evaluation of the primary data.

4. *'Biblical' and Other Archaeologies*

The many qualifications which are in current use or have been recently introduced to modify the concept of archaeology may be grouped into three major types. On the one hand there are terms which reflect a global approach to the discipline: such is the import of the term 'structural archaeology,' used in this paper, or of the term'new archaeology', which has come into common use in America. Then there are terms which apply to specific sectors of the discipline from a methodological or even technological point of view: here we have terms such as 'spatial', 'underwater' or 'ethno-archaeology'; even broader terms, such as 'archaeometry' or 'theoretical archaeology' refer to specific sectors, such as the area of quantitative standards of measurement (which may be applied from other disciplines as well) or that of general theoretical elaborations (which exclude for instance the

practice of stratigraphic recognition in the field). Finally, there are qualifications which refer to specific sectors of cultural data to which archaeology applies: thus we have for instance 'Roman' or 'Classical archaeology,' 'prehistoric archaeology,' 'industrial archaeology.'

More and more, universal principles are developed which apply to archaeology per se, in an interdisciplinary way. This is true especially at the level of techniques, but it extends increasingly to conceptual constructs and intellectual presuppositions. At the same time, more and more specific substantive data bases are isolated for inquiry: as a result of the larger amounts of information which become available, the focus can be made sharper on narower darta bases – so that 'Near Eastern' or 'Classical archaeology,' for instance, are by now too generically broad. We witness, in other words, the common and interesting phenomenon of a dual process both toward and away from generalization: in terms of the data bases, we are on a centripetal course; and in terms of methods and techniques, on a centrifugal one.

Against this background, the concept of 'Biblical archaeology' can be defined and understood properly. The Bible is a document which belongs as such to a continuous and living tradition; its origins, on the other hand, go back to a period and milieu which can be retrieved as a broken tradition, through stratigraphic analysis. This is the situation with most of the ancient manuscript traditions: texts were handed down orally and they were copied from the beginning, but the stream of actual philological 'witnesses' such as codices begins only later, at some distanc from the original 'editicn' as it were. The portion of the textual tradition which precedes the extent manuscript tradition is presupposed by the latter, but not documented – it is 'broken' in almost a literal sense.

A first diffculty with the concept of 'Biblical' archaeology is that the two levels may be mixed. We are tempted to deal with the textual tradition as if it were an altogether 'closed' chronological sequence, in the sense indicated above. Instead, the first half of this tradition is open and selfstanding. We must be weary of projecting back into the earlier stages what is proper to the later ones. The manuscript tradition as we have it is a cultural carrier which elaborates, interprets, interjects at the same time that it hands down the text, and it builds on a lost portion of the tradition which operated in the same manner, except that it is undocumentable. So it is that the Bible of the manuscript tradition cannot simply be inserted in the archaeological stratigraphy. In its present form it is not an artifact which can be placed alongside those recovered through stratigraphic analysis, because its depositional history is lost. It is a flagrant case of mixing of levels

of analysis when we argue from a manuscript tradition to a stratigraphic one as if they were the same. They are, certainly, related. But they cannot be handled without a clear sense of the discrete levels to which they belong.

This means that while the concept of 'Biblical' archaeology is valid and legitimate, it is of limited power and potentially very deceptive. It has limited conceptual power because it refers properly only to the correlation between stratigraphic data on the one hand and cultural data filtered through a largely undocumented manuscript tradition. And it is potentially deceptive because people, including scholars, are easily given to shortcircuiting the relationship between the two and assuming that both stratigraphic and manuscript data share the same depositional history. It may be noted that much the same problem is present in other cases, notably in the case of the so-called 'Classical' archaeology. To drive home a point, we might think of a special segment of the latter. What would 'Ciceronian' archaeology be? The sum total of stratigraphic data which bear on an understanding of the writings of Cicero. So far so good. But imagine that a dig, or a series of digs, or worse yet every dig in the Roman world be undertaken with the express purpose of illustrating Cicero's works, nay, with the purpose of proving him right? The overlap would be so limited that, if the excavators were to be true to their stated intents, they would effectively destroy most of the archaeological record. Very practically in this case, the mixing of levels of analysis would be seen in the fact of imposing spurious conceptual boundaries (ciceronian 'civilization') on a heterogeneous body of data (the stratigraphy of Roman sites).

The guideposts for the excavation of a site must be much more effective than those derived from a fragment of the civilization represented at the site. The Bible is such a fragment. A very important one, no doubt, but still a fragment. Hence we cannot use the Bible as a straight jacket to coerce the research design of any excavation. The research design must respond to the proper nature of the data represented in the stratigraphic record. As such it will include the later manuscript tradition in much the same way that it includes contemporary ethnography or geography–as a portion of the data which have a bearing on the understanding of the stratigraphic record. It is the latter, however, i. e. the statigraphic record itself which must be given absolute priority and autonomy. Only after the stratigraphic data have been understood in and of themselves, through a pertinent methodology, can they be taken out and compared with other data.

At that point, the choice of a definition will be the historian's. The horizon of Palestine as a broader historical construct should have preeminence over a Biblical focus, but it will in fact become a matter of choice. In this sense, 'Biblical' archaeology is on a par with, let us say, the archaeology of a region or a paleobotanical investigation of the hinterland of a given city. Whether the delimitation is geographical or ideological, it remains a delimitation of the conceptual boundaries of a given field of inquiry. The broadest boundaries are those which are most justified in terms of an overall presentation. And in this respect the broad cultural horizon to which Biblical or palaeobotanical archaeology belongs will be that of Palestinian archaeology.

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Jacques and Elisabeth LAGARCE
France, C. N. R. S.

THE INTRUSION OF THE SEA PEOPLES AND THEIR ACCULTURATION : A PARALLEL BETWEEN PALESTINIAN AND RAS IBN HANI DATA

The Late Bronze Age city on the peninsula of Ras Ibn Hani, which we are excavating with our colleagues Adnan Bounni and Nassib Saliby and in a joint Franco-Syrian expedition since 1975,[1] was destroyed violently and immediately resettled. We assign this re-settlement, as well as the destruction, to the Sea-Peoples.

This needs justification: how can the presence of members of the Sea Peoples be identified archaeologically on a site, and thence who were the Sea Peoples?[2]

Historically, they are known mainly through the inscriptions and reliefs of Ramesses III's temple in Medinet Habu (figs 1-2) relating his Asiatic campaign in his 8th year (1191 B.C.) and Papyrus Harris.[3] They appear there as an enemy, a dangerous one since it has destroyed many contemporary states, and an ill-defined one. They do not come from a country well-known to Egyptian diplomacy, but from a maritime and northern area, and, for closer precision, the author of the text has to use the names of their tribes. They are not a traditional political power with which the Egyptian court was used to deal. Nevertheless, they form a relatively organized group, capable of some kind of military strategy and to re-unify itself in Amurru before attacking Egypt. The list of the countries destroyed by them prior to this gathering in Amurru (Hatti, Kode, Karkemish, Arzawa and Alashiya) suggests a rather deep penetration inland, although, considering the nature of the texts, written to glorify the pharaoh, one can express some doubt about the depth of penetration of the invaders inland and think that their role in the collapse of Hatti, Karkemish and Kode is overstressed.[4]

From the names of the tribes, Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh, Denyen and Weshwesh, and from their origin, the origin of some of them at least, « the islands », « the North and the islands which are amidst the sea », it can be inferred that many of them came from the Mycenaean area or from its fringes.

The reliefs of Medinet Habu contradict the formidable impression given by the text in showing a rather pitifiying lot of uprooted tramps bringing

with them their families in ox-driven chariots, while others are fighting on ships. This gives strength to the idea that some of the Sea-peoples were voyaging on sea, other travelling on land. The reliefs illustrate the dress of the main tribes, their arms and weapons, their chariots and ships.

A rather heterogenous band of uprooted peoples,[5] but able to coordinate their actions. When we find the Sea Peoples settled in Palestine, named after one of them, the Peleset Philistines, their organization reflects this diversity and this endeavour towards coordination: the Philistines[6] have formed a pentapolis, a federation with five capitals (Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkalon, Gath and Gaza)[7], and they seem to be known as smiths at the time of David's youth;[8] in the XIth century B. C. the Tjekkers are found still connected with the sea, dealing with local cities such as Byblos, and active as pirates along the coasts, thus adding to the misadventures of Wenamon.[9]

From these often quoted elements, one can figure out what kind of archaeological traces can be left in a place by the passage and settlement of members of the Sea Peoples. These traces are likely to vary according to the origin of the tribe or tribes concerned. All of them have in common the highly destructive effect of their passage. For many of them we can expect a predilection for coastal sites with direct access to the sea. Metal-working must have been mastered by some of them more than by others. Their pottery must resemble that of their homelands and, since many tribes seem to have been of Mycenaean or peri-Mycenaean origin, we should be ready to find late Myceaean pottery types, especially along the sea route. That pottery, through its technical and aesthetical superioriority over many of the other wares current at the end of the Late Bronze Age, can have been adopted by not purely Mycenaean groups. On the inland route, we should have to look mainly for pottery akin to wares from Western and Southern Anatolia. For funerary and cultual practice, as well as for some specific habits, such as those concerning food, we must expect a certain degree of conservatism, although all sorts of contaminations are possible. If some of the tribes were coming from more backwards regions, it is likely that they would fall under the cultural domination of the more advanced ones and leave less archaeological evidence. We have to expect that if there were among the Sea Peoples tribes connected originally with the Hittite Empire, they would play a prominent role, especially on the inaland route, while Mycenaean or Mycenized tribes would to the same for the sea route. Their ability to create some kind of federative organization suggests that there were among them groups used to centralized administrative managemont. What we said we believe we know about the federative organization of the Sea Peoples recalls that of the Greek army besieging Troy.

The picture offered by most of the sites explored on or near the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean matches perfectly what these preliminary reflections could lead one to expect. Indeed, if we knew nothing, through historical sources, about the migration of the Sea Peoples, archaeology alone would have led to reconstruct the history of the period on the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean as involving the destruction of most sites, followed by the establishment of populations closely connected with the Mycenaean area. On the other hand, this diagram would have been applicable only to the coastlands and, given the other possible causes of destruction in that period,[10] one would not have thought of assigning the destruction of Late Bronze Age Tell es–Saʿidiyeh and Deir ʿAlla to the same migrants who ruined Ashdod or Askalon, and, actually, the connection is far from being proven.

Whatever the problem for the inland areas, the concordance of historical and archaeological records makes the Sea Peoples the best likely explanation for the survival of some of these sites with locally made Myc.III C:1 style pottery and some other Late Helladic features. This, as any historical reconstruction, may be wrong, but any different hypothesis looks less convincing to us.

As for Ugarit, there can be a number of reasons why it is not mentioned in the Medinet Habu texts as having been destroyed by the Sea Peoples: it can have been omitted, being too small a state, or considered as included in the mention of the major neighbouring states, it can have ceased to exist before the 8th year of Ramesses III–but the Ras Shamra tablets seem clearly to show that Ugarit felt threatened by the Sea Peoples–or it can have avoided destruction, according to Shaeffer's suggestion, thanks to a compromise with the invaders. If the last is true, we have to look for another cause of the end of Ugarit. Schaeffer's reconstruction of natural disasters (draught and earthquake) in *Ugaritica*, V, is based on archaeological observations[11] which, in our opinion, he misinterprated: he argues that the yellowish powder in which the remains of the last level of Ugarit are embedded evidences a period of extreme heat and of draught before the destruction of the city.[12] But it is impossible that up to two meters of dust should have accumulated within a few years in an inhabited town. Then he goes on writing that a series of earthquakes destroyed Ugarit at the beginning of the XIIth century and caused exceptionally violent fires.[13] His description of how the buildings were affected by these fires is very vivid and accurate; it could be repeated, word for word, to describe the Northern Palace at Ras Ibn Hani; but it ruins the interpretation of the layer of yellowish powder as the consequence of an arid period before the destruction by saying

that the floors and pavements of the Palace were covered with a thick layer of ashes, which means, of course, that the yellowish powder, also found in the Palace, rested *above* the ashes and was deposited *after* these, that is, *after* (or in the course of) the destruction of the city. Having worked many years in Ras Shamra, we have been able to many times observe this stratification: although ashes are not always present in great quantity, the yellowish powder, when it is found, mixed with a few stones fallen from the walls, always covers the ashes and the objects lying on the floor and can only be a consequence of the destruction or abandonment of the town. The walls, built with stones, are always preserved higher (up to 5 or 6 meters in the Palace, and almost always more than 1,50 m, often more than 2m in every part of the city) than the top of the yellowish layer, on which rests a mass of stones fallen from them. Moreover, the layer of yellowish dust is not found everywhere: it is particularly thick in the important buildings, such as the Palace and the «House of the Alabasters» (Maison aux Albâtres) or in the House of Patiluwa,[11] but is absent in poorer dwellings, a fact which Schaeffer also had noted,[15] and, even, in major buildings, in some rooms, the walls of which are not deeply burnt; then, a greyish/whitish layer, with a few stones, is found instead.

If the yellow dust were the consequence of a climatic phenomenon, it would be present also in Ras Ibn Hani (Biruti/Apu?), if the destruction of that city is to be considered contemporary with the destruction of Ugarit (this cannot, up to now, be proved beyond doubt, but seems very likely, as we shall see further on). But the fill on the last floor of the Southern and Northern Palaces in Ras Ibn Hani consists of an ash and charcoal layer resting on the floor, covered with a thick accumulation of material from the collapsed building:stones, red clay which was used as binding stuff for the stone-boulders of the walls, whitish, yellow or reddish wall plaster, large blocks of stratified clayey roofing, all of these much more deeply burnt in the Northern Palace. Another marked difference is that whereas in Ras Shamra the floors are literally littered with pieces of furniture, whole earthenware and stone vases, mortars and pestles, metal objects, weights and so on,[16] Ras Ibn Hani seldom offers, on the last destruction floor of the Late Bronze Age, a common jar or plate which could have been in use at the time of the destruction, and never a more valuable item in good state, except for such very small objects which can easily have been lost (a seal, a scarab, a signet-ring), as well as a number of weapons (arrowheads and javelin heads). If the town had been destroyed by an earthquake, the inhabitants, even if there had been some warning-signs, would not have taken time to remove all their belongings before leaving the city. If it had been conquered and ransacked by an enemy while it was still inhabited, it is most

improbable that the conquerors would have taken away all the furniture, including the pots and pans of everyday use: they would rather have broken them on the spot and kept for themselves the precious objects. The best explanation seems to be that the city was abandoned some time (which can have been very short, even a few days or a few hours) before its destruction by an expected attack. The people took time to remove all their valuables, including large common clay vessels, probably containing food provisions: they were moving, apparently not in great panic, probably to other houses ready for them. They left behind only what for them was waste (but which for us is a stock of precious information): misshaped or broken unfinished chalcedony beads, pieces of ivory inlays, out-of-date tablets, or material not worth the pain of carrying away: ingots of lead, blocks of corundum.[17]

The date of this abandonment cannot yet be fixed with great accuracy by internal evidence. Among the tablets found in 1983 in the Northern Palace was an impression of ᶜAmmistamru II's (1260–1230 B.C.) personal signet-ring[18] and one of the tablets mentions the *meru* («bodyguards») of Ibiranu, ʿAmmistamru's son.[19] This gives for the tablet a date probably towards the end of ʿAmmistamru's reign. Since the tablets have been left behind when the building was emptied of its contents, it means that, by that time, they had become obsolete, so that the destruction can hardly have occurred during ʿAmmistamru's reign. There are other signs that it was even much later. It is true that the pottery of the destruction level does not happen to show any very late Mycenaean III B types which would make necessary a dating around 1200 B.C.; in room XVIII –a workshop which has not been as thoroughly emptied as the rest of the building – a fragmentary small juglet painted with horizontal red stripes seems to be inspired by late Mycenaean models, but it is probably of local manufacture, which makes an exact appreciation of its chronological value rather difficult. Neverthless, most of the White Slip pottery found in the destruction layer belongs to the late category of that ware, which could be termed White Slip III and probably does not start much before 1200 B.C. It is thus most likely that Biruti/Apu was destroyed by the same cause and at the same time as Ugarit, and all the more so since both cities seem to have been destroyed in the same way, having to suffer from a very violent fire which put an end to the Late Bronze Age occupation in both of them.

If we put together the evidence from Ugarit and the evidence from Biruti/Apu (Ras Ibn Hani), we are led to a very simple explanation, not too simple to be true, we hope, since it fits the available information. Under ᶜAmmurapi, Ugarit and the surrounding states were under the menace of a seafaring enemy, and aware of it.[20] ʿAmmurapi was summoned to help

Hatti,[21] but could find no help in Alasia, the king of which wrote to him: «Surround with ramparts cities of yours, let troops and chariots in (and) wait (there) for the enemy very firmly».[22] Then it was decided that Biruti/Apu, on its cape, was too exposed, and that the city had to be abandoned and only a garrison had to be left there. The people moved, most of them probably to Ugarit. Eventually, the enemy succeeded in taking both Ugarit and Biruti/Apu. One can imagine a much tougher resistance in Ugarit, the fights spreading all over the town, than in Biruti/Apu, where the attackers, arriving from the large northern bay, must have met the defenders in the area of the Northern Palace and quickly defeated or mastered them.

Schaeffer argued that such an attack should have left unburied dead bodies in the ruins. But such victims are seldom found in excavations of cities destroyed by war, whatever the reason may be for this absence. He also states that many walls are leaning as if they had been moved by an earthquake. Leaning walls in Ras Shamra are usually walls which have started to collapse when their wood-framing was destroyed ,or terrace-walls (of which there are many, due to the irregular topography of the site), which can no more resist the pressure of the fill they are intended to retain: such is the case for example, of the strong wall which divides the higher part of the « House of the Alabasters » from its lower part.[23]

As for the yellow dust found in Ugarit in the rich buildings, we believe it to be formed by the burnt wall plasters, storey-floors and flat roofs, which collapsed before the walls themselves started to crumble. The roofs of Biruti/Apu, which could be up to 25 to 30 cms thick, were mainly made of a mixture of red clay and murex shells or small pebbles found in the vicinity of the site, and were baked hard by the fire, while those of Ugarit were probably made of different materials, presumably essentially marls (while the binding material in the stone walls was a greyish earthy clay) and turned into powder when they were burnt; some walls in Ras Shamra, especially in the Great Palace, are still covered with a thick yellowish plaster, the decay of which results into the formation of exactly the same dust which was found during the excavations. Some of the wall stones are also seen, in Ras Ibn Hani, to turn into yellow powder when they are burnt, and the same probably happended also in Ras Shamra. In fact, the thickness of the destruction layer results from the height of the buildings, the number of storeys and the thickness of the plasters; its consistency and colour depend on the heaviness of the fire which ruined them.

Considered together, then, the finds at Ras Shamra and at Ras Ibn

Hani point to a violent destruction of both sites by an enemy coming from the sea at the very end of the XIIIth century or at the beginning of the XIIth. Schaeffer's former idea – which he always kept until he discovered the Shumitti Report – that the destroyers were some of the Sea Peoples, should be maintained as long as no new decisive data is available. The argument also used by Schaeffer in *Ugaritica*, V, that there was no sign of the presence of the Sea Peoples at Ras Shamra after the destruction of the Late Bronze Age city can, of course, no more be used now that we know that the first re-settling of Ras Ibn Hani in the XIIth century can be assigned to a group belonging to the Sea Peoples.[24]

Indeed, on the ruins of the Late Bronze Age Southern Palace of Biruti/Apu a new settlement was established (fig. 4), the pottery of which differs markedly from the Late Bronze Age pottery.[25] The origin of some of these new wares is still obscure. But more than fifty per cent of the painted vases belong to the pottery style termed« Mycenaean III C:1» in Greece, Cyprus, Tarsus, etc., and dated to the first half of the twelfth century. Most frequent is the deep bowl or crater decorated with antithetic, symmetrical spirals (fig. 5). This type does exist already in the Myc. III B style, in the XIIIth century, in a different fabric and a different execution (fig. 6–7).[26] It becomes very popular, in its Myc. III C:1 version, in the first half of the XIIth century, in Greece (fig. 8) and even more in Cyprus. In shape and decoration, if not in fabric, many exemplars from Ras Ibn Hani are identical with Cypriote ones.

It could be assumed that this sudden occurrence of a great quantity of Myc. III C pottery in Ras Ibn Hani is due not to the settling of Mycenaeans, but to a sudden activation of the old trading and cultural links with the Mycenaean world, which are clearly attested by large quantities of Myc. III A and B pottery in Ras Shamra, Minet el-Beida[27] and Ras Ibn Hani. Yet this explanation does not hold good. Except for a few samples, probably from Cyprus, the Myc. III C style pottery of Ras Ibn Hani is no imported pottery. Its ware shows that it is locally made. Not the pots have been imported, but the potters themselves.

We have thus in Ras Ibn Hani a situation which, at first glance, resembles very much the situation in other parts of the Eastern Mediterranean: a violent and systematic destruction followed by the settling of people making Myc. III C:1 style pottery. It might be interesting to compare the situation in Cyprus (for Ras Ibn Hani is the point of all the Syrian coast closest to Cyprus) and in Palestine with that in Ras Ibn Hani.

Cyprus, with a population of autochtonous origin, probably mixed with some Semitic, Hurrian and Mycenaean elements, was very deeply impregnated with Mycenaean influence in the Late Bronze Age.[28] On the whole, international trade accounts very well for this mixture. Invasions, settling of foreign elements, need not be called in for an explanation. If Alashiya means Cyprus,[29] then the island was, since the time of the Tell el–Amarna letters at least,[30] the seat of a very powerful kingdom, not likely to have allowed massive immigration of unwanted foreigners. Raids, moreover, were probably rather frequent, as is shown by a letter from the king of Alashiya to the pharaoh in the XIVth century, complaining of yearly attacks by the Lukka from Southern Anatolia,[31] and by the mention, in the Hittite archives, of raids by Madduwattash, allied to Attarshiyash, the man of Ahhiya (an Achaean?), at the time of Arnuwandash, towards the end of the XIIIth century.[32] These raids, as well as wars such as the one which Tudhaliya IV of Hatti boasts that he led and won, shortly before the collapse of the Hittite Empire,[33] might have induced the Alashiyan kings to fortify their cities, which seem to have staid open for a long time: the city wall of Kition seems to have been built already around 1300, and rebuilt in the last third of the XIIIth century;[34] but the one of Enkomi is dated, in its first stage, to the last quarter of the XIIIth century.[35] Some of the constructional features of Cypriot Late Bronze architecture (the outside strengthening of ramparts through huge blocks of rock; the *ashlar* masonry), have been attributed to Aegean immigration, or, recently, *ashlar* was argued to have been brought to Cyprus by refugees from Ugarit after the destruction of that town by the Sea Peoples;[36] but neither feature has much to do with Aegean or Ugaritic building habits; both are more likely to have been evolved locally to face new military or luxury requirements, due to changes in political and social conditions; Late Bronze Age Cyprus was trading with the whole Mediterranean and its masons were probably well aware of contemporary Ugaritic, Hittite, Aegean as well as Egyptian techniques; moreover, the cutting and use of *ashlar* blocks was known in Cyprus much prior to the troubles of Merneptah's time[37] often said to have offered an opportunity for the Aegean settlers to start establishing themselves in Cyprus.

If Cyprus is Alashiya, then there is no drastic change, except for the probably formal and temporary domination by the Hittites, in the international status of the island until the last years of Ugarit:[38] the last king of Ugarit, Hammurapi, still addresses the king of Alashiya as a very great king, whereas the king of Alashiya greets him very briefly and writes to him rather curtly.[39] This, again, makes it difficult to believe that the traditional power had been shaken or overthrown by newcomers a few years earlier. And the destruction of level II B at Enkomi must not have taken place in

about 1230, as the excavator P. Dikaios, thought, on the ground of Furumark's dating for the end of the Myc. III B pottery,[40] but can be appreciably later, since it is followed by a reoccupation by peoples using Myc. III C: 1 B pottery, and since it is now clear that the Myc. III B pottery was in use until about the turn of the century.[41]

Aegeans did not invade Cyprus in the XIIIth century nor did they settle there by force, but there were probably very numerous inhabitants of Mycenaean or peri-Mycenaean origin who had established themselves on the island individually, for commercial or other reasons, with permission of the local authority, and who are likely to have made contacts easier between the Aegean newcomers and the Cypriots at the beginning of the XIIth century.

Actually, the contact between Cyprus and the Sea Peoples may well have been much less rude than has been admitted. It certainly involved troubles and destructions, but may not have radically changed the situation in the country. In Enkomi, floor V of Building 18 was reused after clearing the debris, according to Schaeffer, and the construction of the rampart went on after an interruption. The great fire which left so impressive marks on the walls of Building 18 and which, in many places, left thick layers of ashes, probably broke out some time later, when Myc. III C:1 b pottery was already in common use.[42]

But nevertheless the invaders seem very soon to have dominated the whole island. Since written sources are henceforth absent or undeciphered, nothing is known about the organization of Cyprus in the XIIth and XIth centuries B.C. Around 1080 B.C. the Wenamun Papyrus still mentions Alashiya and its queen, *Ḥtb*, but this, of course, is no proof that the island still formed a unified kingdom. To the archaeologist anyhow, the XIIth century in Cyprus appears as a period of intensive industrial, artistic and commercial activity, indicative of a fair amount of coordination, if not necessarily of political unity. Mining and metallurgy are as active as ever, or even more.[43] The massive arrival of Mycenaeans is reflected not only in the change of pottery style: ivory carvings,[44] and a seal,[45] show warriors looking like the Philistines of the Egyptian reliefs. The metallic equipment displays new connections with the West (swords, cnemids, knives, cauldrons),[46] and cremation of the dead appears sporadically.

The Myc. III C:1b style pottery, locally made, ousts all previously typical wares, such as White Slip and Base Ring.[47] A series of destructions and rebuildings in the XIIth and XIth centuries are more or less closely

accompanied by changes in ceramic style, with the emergence of Myc. III C:2 («Granary») style, with wavy line or solid-painted decoration, followed by the White Painted and Proto-Geometric styles.

In fact, Cyprus seems to have become a country of the Sea Peoples, at least in its coastal areas. These Cyprus settled Sea Peoples are highly mycenized, keep in contact with the Aegean and receive new waves of settlers (paralleling the arrival of the Sea Peoples under Ramesses III, but with effects restricted to Cyprus), which make the period a troubled one.

At the same time, eastern influence is to be felt more than ever in some aspects of civilization, notably in the religious field.[48] The finds at Ras Ibn Hani show that intercourse between Cyprus and the Levantine coast was uninterrupted in the XIIth and XIth centuries B. C.

Palestine entertained commercial relations with the Mycenaean world, but the ties were looser than those of Cyprus, which probably in many instances served as a relay. Palestine was in the political sphere of Egypt. Its population was Semitic. Although Mycenaean influence was too small to pave the way for the new settlers,[49] the conditions were favourable to them in some other ways. The settlement in Palestine of the Sea Peoples, considered as a group by the Harris Papyrus, seems to have resulted from an agreement between them and the king of Egypt, and was thus so to say officialized. The agreement was probably made easier by the long-standing presence of Sherden mercenaries in the Egyptian army.

Archaeologically, the presence of people likely to belong to the Sea Peoples is attested in Palestine by Myc. III C:1 b imported pieces, by local pottery clearly derived from Myc. III C:1b, the so-called Philistine pottery, by cultual figurines, and perhaps by rectangular chamber tombs (Tell es-Saᶜi-diyeh, southern Tell el-Farah). To this may be added the development of metallurgical centers (workshops of Deir ᶜAlla, bronze objects of Tell es-Saᶜidiyeh and Beth Shan).[50] The influence of Egypt is certainly felt in the decoration of pottery with the use of the lotus flower on the neck of some pitchers.

Most interesting for comparison with Ras Ibn Hani is the Philistine pottery (figs. 9-11). It shows the elaboration of a new style of pottery decoration, using Myc. III C:1b and other elements. Of Mycenaean origin are most of the shapes (deep bowl, bell-crater (fig. 9) stirrup-jar (fig. 11), jug with strainer-spout (fig. 10) etc.) and the main motif, the pair of antithetic spirals, as well as some less frequent decorations, such as the bird and the fish. Some of these elements seem to connect this Philistine pottery

rather with the Aegean islands, Eastern Greece, Rhodos and Cyprus, than with mainland Greece: such are, for example, the jug with strainer spout, the bird and the fish motives.[51] It seems that the first products of the immigrant potters on the coastal sites kept a great fidelity to the Mycenaean models. But very soon an evolution started, which probably went with an increasing success of Philistine pottery in inland sites.[52] The bichromy was introduced; the antithetical spirals were no more truly antithetical (adissymmetry exceptionally found in Cyprus), they acquired multiple tails (compare fig. 24, B, from Ras Ibn Hani); the painter had a tendency to divide the field into pannels, often using geometrical patterns such as the checker board to decorate these pannels. Among the geometrical motives, many can be traced back to the Syro–Palestinian Late Bronze Age tradition: for instance the « dent–de–loup », the sandclock, zigzag and Union Jack motives. These new fashions can be attributed, at least in part, to the local, Canaanite taste. Of course, the indigenous populations had not suddenly disap peared on the arrival of the Sea Peoples.

It must be noted that the changes in the pottery styles of the Aegean and Cyprus after the beginning of the XIIth century seem to have very little, if any, impact on the evolution of Philistine pottery. The emergence of the Granary style does not apparently affect its development (a bowl with wavy line decoration, from Gezer,[53] is a great rarity). The spiral of Myc. III B/III C:1 origin and, to a lesser extent, the bird, remain the almost unique motives of Aegean origin until the final dilution of the Philistine pottery style.

At Ras Ibn Hani, the picture is at once different from that of Cyprus and of Palestine, and also similar to both.

The first difference is connected with the circumstances of the settlemet It happened in an almost entirely hostile context. Some Mycenaeans had probably settled in the kingdom of Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age, mainly in the metropolis and in the harbours, but they remained a minority without political weight. Before the attack the Sea Peoples, the Ras Shamra texts expect trouble coming from the sea and, as in Medinet Habu, by an «enemy» which cannot be easily named, although the mention of the unfriendly « Šikalaeans», who lived on ships, if it is confirmed, may indicate that one at least of the components of the raiders had been known in Ugarit for some time.[54] After the destruction of Ugarit and of Biruti/Apu, the newcomers appear to have settled only on the maritime fringe (fig. 3). From what is known through surveys and excavations in the plain of Jable and of Lattakia, they seem to have chosen sites which were both on the sea and on defensive positions, such as Tell Sukas (?), Ras Ibn Hani (the Late Bronze

Age glacis formed a kind of artificial cliff on which the settlement of the Sea Peoples is located), Tell Barsouna, on the top of a cliff, about 15 meters above the sea. Other known early Iron Age sites, a few kilometers inland, have yielded nothing to connect them with the Sea Peoples: such are, in Lattakia area, Jabal Qalaᶜa and al-Qalaᶜa. The one exception is Qalaᶜat as-Syriani, where one single sherd of a type related to a debased Myc. III C:1 type of bowl attested in Ras Ibn Hani has been found.[55] Qalaᶜat as-Syriani is a natural fortress commanding the crossing over the Nahr al-Kabir, and as such a vital point for the defense of the Lattakia-Ras Shamra area.

At Ras Ibn Hani, in addition to some objects[56] and certain features of the architecture,[57] the main, and very rich evidence for the presence of the Sea Peoples is the pottery. Its main characteristic, in its first phase, is the exclusive use of the antithetic spiral pattern to decorate the open shapes. Some peculiarities connect it closely with the Myc. III C:1b of Cyprus, such as the filling of the space left free by the spirals with accessory motifs (fig. 12-13). Some sherds, though very few, belong to imported vases, apparently from Cyprus (fig. 14, B, G).

The main difference from Palestine is that the Ras Ibn Hani potters did not create their own style or, if they tried to, did not succeed in making it popular. The bulk of the Myc. III C:1 type pottery is a mere, more or less careful reproduction of the Mycenaean types. Another important difference from Palestine lies in the fact that, in the course of time, the pottery of Ras Ibn Hani is notably affected by the changes in the Mycenaean ceramic styles in Cyprus: we see, at the end of the XIIth and in the XIth century, a widespread use of the wavy line motif of the Myc. III C:2/Proto White Painted wares of Cyprus on local (fig. 15-18) as well as on imported pieces.[58] In a way, Ras Ibn Hani became for a time a kind of Cypro-Mycenaean landing point (cf. fig. 14).

The picture of mainly Mycenaean groups, wandering on sea, fighting, establishing settlements on the shores, matches well what is suggested, for the period preceding and following the War of Troy, by the Homeric poems and by the legends assigning the foundations of Greek colonies to eponym heroes. These legends have often been connected with a more recent period and considered to have been created to provide glorious ancestors for colonies of the Archaic Period or even to forge a Hellenic past for Phoenician cities included into the Hellenistic kingdoms.[59] But some of these foundation legends could well be much older and keep record of a period when the political — and probably cultural — vacuum following the collapse of Late

Bronze Age powers gave sea–roamers opportunity to find settling grounds near the shores of the Eastern Mediterranean. Not only does archaeology suggest that the concerned areas have actually been resettled by groups including a proportion of Aegeans, as illustrated by Ibn Hani (and a more complete survey of Eastern Mediterranean coasts could probably enrich our documentation on this subject), but in some cases the legends give a detailed image, which cannot be fortuitous, of complex interrelations between different areas showed by archaeology to be in contact with each other.

In the Late Bronze Age, Mycenaeans can have lived in the Levant, but there is no evidence that they formed countries or colonies with a specific status. For the first millenium B. C., a number of sites have yielded quantities of Greek pottery from the IXth century onwards (fig. 20).[60] But no more than Mycenaean imports into Ugarit could be used as evidence of Mycenaeans having established themselves there in the Bronze Age, can imported pottery prove the presence of Greeks in the first millenium, even less a pre–eminence of Greeks in the settlements. No clear–cut distinction could be drawn between Phoenician or Cypriote, and supposedly Greek sanctuaries. Greek and Cypriote pottery[61] can very well have been bought by local people for its attractive qualities, aesthetical and technical, by far superior, in the Iron Age even more than in the Late Bronze Age (when some wares, such as the Red Lustrous Wheel–made or Bichrome Wheel–made wares, are of a high standard) to local and even to Egyptian pottery. This does not in any way exclude the possibility that Greek merchants were living on the Syrian coast in the VIIIth to VIth centuries, but their status, their political and commercial organization are unknown, and their settling was probably progressive, not massive enough to have entitled the Greeks to boast founding cities on the Levantine coast which no longer represented, in the Archaic Age, a political and cultural vacuum.

Of course, much of the Greek legend was probably created for etiological or political reasons, with little historical ground, and much of it refers to events of the Geometric and Archaic Ages. But concerning the Cilician, Cypriote and coastal Syrian area, a number of connected legends[62] all point to the time of the Trojan War or, on some occasions, to the generations just before or after it, and history and archaeology support the possibility that these legends should have their roots in events of the end of the Late Bronze Age and of the beginning of the Early Iron Age.

On the Levantine coast, a massive arrival of Aegeo–Anatolian people is attested only at the time of Ramesses III's Sea Peoples, with the finds of Ras Ibn Hani, and in Palestine;[63] then we see pottery of Greek (Myc. III

C) type being manufactured on the Levantine coast as well as in Cyprus, and some other Mycenaean cultural elements being at home there (terracotta figurines, jugs with strainer spout. . .). During a century and more, archaeology shows the persistence of an eager traffic between the Syrian and Cilician coasts, Cyprus and the Aegean, and it suggests the arrival to Cyprus of new stocks of Aegean people, and also, in return, movement westwards, from the Levant to Cyprus and further to the Aegean and Attica.[64] These contacts are rather poorly documented by finds of Sub–Mycenaean, Proto Geometric or early Geometric Greek material in the Levant,[65] but it is fairly certain that exploration of a few properly selected coastal sites, in Cilicia and in Northern Syria, would bring more evidence. Indeed, Ras Ibn Hani has given us the probably most ancient Greek imports to the Near East, including Cyprus, such as the top of an early Proto Geometric stirrup–vase (figs 14, K, 19).

This intercourse became more intensive when Greece came out of the Dark Ages and probably sent merchants of its own to the East, some of them perhaps eventually getting established there in small groups; but nowhere is there, in that period, a time when we could locate the foundations of cities on free ground;[66] then, on the other hand, can the heroic memories of the Late Helladic III C Age have been remembered more vividly and have escaped oblivion, in the form of what we call legends, which the Greeks considered history.

In these legends, Cilicia and Cyprus appear as key areas, and Cilicia, Cyprus and the Levant, as closely interconnected.

Argive Kasos (but, according to Libanios, he came from Crete), son of Inachos and brother of Io, having left the siege of Troy, came to Cyprus, where he married Kitia–Amyke, the daughter of the king, Salaminos. With her and a party of Argives, Cypriots and Cretans, he went to Syria. He took part in the foundation of Posideion with Amphilochos, and founded Kasiotis, on Mount Silpios, which became the acropolis of Antioch. His sister Io had been captured in Lerna by Phoenician seamen (from Carne, north of Arados) and taken to Egypt; she fled from there to Syria and died on Mount Silpios; Triptolemos, sent after her by Inachos, founded Iopolis/ Ione on Mount Silpios, while some of his companions left him and founded Tarsus.

It seems strange that Io should appear in this context, while she usually seems to have been a much earlier character. She probably stayed in memory, as suggested by the tales told by Persians to Herodotus with regard to her, to Medea, to Europe and to Helen, as one of the symbols of the

secular relationship between West and East, which sometimes was resented as conflictual, and finally ended into an open war (for Herodotus, *Hist.*, I, 1–5, the Trojan War), but the positive side of which was also aknowledged, notably through the exemplary figure of Danaos or that of Kadmos, the founder of cities and the initiator of sophisticated technologies such as mining, metallurgy and writing.

The wife of Kasos, Kitia–Amyke, was buried east of Antioch, in the plain of Amuq (which has yielded Myc. III C:1 type pottery[67]). Amphilochos, an Argive again, and a seer, the son of Amphiaraos (a seer himself, one of the Argonauts and a hero of the War of the Seven against Thebes), and of Eriphyle, a daughter of Adrast (another Argive hero of the colonization in Cilicia), also left Troy (another tradition makes him a son of Manto, thus a half–brother of Mopsos); he went to Cilicia where he founded Mallos with Mopsos; then he came to Syria and founded Posideion (Ras al–Bassit). In Antioch, the name (Herakleion) of a district or suburb of the town was said to recall the settlement there of Heraklids.

It is clear that Greek tradition remembered some kind of colonization in North Syria in close connection with Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Cyprus (Kition, Enkomi/Salamis). The relationship between the name of Amyke and the plain of Amuq (Amykeion Pedion for the Greeks) and between the name of Kasos and the name of Mount Kasios (Kasion Oros, Jabal al-Aqra^c, between the low Orontes valley and the area of Ugarit, dominating the plain of Antioch), which the syllabic texts of Ras Shamra call Khazzi is obvious. Of course, the Greek names derive from the Semitic toponyms, not the other way round. That the Kasos cycle originated at a time not much later than the end of the Bronze Age is hinted at by the legend of Zeus Kasios (a protector of seafaring, who obviously succeeded Ba^{c}al Saphon of the Ugaritic texts) fighting Typhon. Not only does this recall the fight of Ba'al with the monster Yam in Ugaritic literature, but there can be little doubt that the name « Typhon» is somewhat related, as it has been suggested, to the name of Jabal al–Aqra^c in Ugaritic, *Ṣaphon*[68], which has been preserved also in the toponym Sabouni, near al–Mina.

We have already met with the name of Mopsos in connection with Amphilochos, the founder of Posideion (Ras al–Bassit). Mopsos is a prominent figure of Greek colonization in Southern Anatolia. His mother, Manto, was a famous seer, the daughter of the Theban seer Tiresias; she is said to have been sent to found colonies by an oracle of Delphian Apollo. In Caria, according to Pausanias (VII, 3:1–2), she married Rhakios. Her son, Mopsos, drove the Carians out of the country. Another source assigns to her the foundation of the oracular sanctuary in Klaros, and to Mopsos that of Colophon. Mopsos went on to Cilicia, where he founded Mopsouhestia (Misis) and Mallos,

with an oracular sanctuary again. Following an oracle of Manto, he sent people to Phaselis, on the coast at the limit of Lycia and Pamphylia, said to have been named after Pamphyle, a sister of Mopsos (or a daughter of Kabderos, king of Cilicia, or the wife of Mopsos, according to variying traditions). Some of his companions took their way to other places in Cilicia, Syria and Phoenicia. Mopsos himself is said to have died in Askalon. Like his mother and grandfather, Mopsos was a seer himself; he took part, at Colophon, in a contest in divination with Chalcas, who was accompanied by Amphilochos, also a seer.

The role of Apollo, the island-born solar-god, a master of the animals as well as of techniques and arts, a traveller himself, a builder of towns, and the god of colonization for the Greeks,[69] and the role of his oracles and sanctuaries in this colonization of Southern Anatolia and Northern Syria must be underlined: his clergy probably played an important part in the preservation of ancient memories from the end of the Late Bronze Age through Classical Ages. A number of archaeological documents seem to witness the spread, in the XIIth and XIth centuries, of an iconographical scheme with Apollonian elements (figs. 21–22) in countries where Sea Peoples are known to have settled.[70]

The figure of Mopsos is all the more interesting since its historicity is attested by non-Greek contemporary or slightly later documents. The bilingual Karatepe inscription (VIIIth cent.) mentions the « king of Adana » « of the Danunim » in Phoenician, certainly the Homeric Danaeans, the Denyeus of Ramesses III[71]), and« the house of Mopsos» (« Mukshush» in Hittite, «Mupsh» in Phoenician). In a tablet of Boghaz-Koy, the Madduwattash Indictment (probably under Suppiluliuma II, the last king of Hatti), Mopsos already appears, probably as an enemy of the Hittites, some time after the raids of Attarshiya and the man of Biggaya against Alasia. So, the chronological setting of Mopsos' adventures is established: they take place in the last few decades before the attack of the Sea Peoples on Egypt and can be considered as part of the eastward movement by which these peoples brought trouble to the Levant.

Although not, like Mopsos, directly known through texts contemporary with his own lifetime, Teucer is nevertheless connected with the period of the Sea Peoples of Medinet Habu by the similarity of his name with that of the Tjekkers. He was a son of Telamon, king of Salamis in Greece. The Teucrians seem to have a relatioship with Troas, the Anatolian coast and Cilicia. Teucer, after taking part in the Trojan War, founded Salamis in Cyprus. He may then perhaps be considered as a representative of one of the later waves of «Aegean» newcomers to Cyprus, and all the more so since he is said to have married the daughter or grand-daughter of Cypriote king Kinyras. The last does not seem to have been a Greek: he had unclear relations with

the Achaeans who besieged Troy: he managed not to take part in the war and presented Agamemnon with armour. His origins seem to be in Cyprus itself and his name is Semitic. A link between Kinyras and Cilicia can be looked for in the fact that the Kinyrads were king–priests of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos, where the art of divination had been introduced by the Tamirads, who were Cilicians. Kinyras is connected, in a very complex way, to Apollo, whose cult (or the cult of a similar deity) in Cyprus appears to be very ancient. He is not a founder of cities; on the contrary, his people was pressured by the Greeks accompaying Agamemnon and forced to take refuge in Amathus. But he is a promoter of art (music) and metallurgical techniques: his proverbial richness rested on « talents» (which, it has been suggested, can have been ox–hide copper ingots) and he is said to have invented copper mining, the tongs, the hammer, the lever and the anvil.[72] Thus, Kinyras appears to be basically a personification of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. His story, being rather vague and a mixture of early and late traditions difficult to disentangle, can be best understood as a reflection of events which brought a change of power in the island towards the end of the XIIIth century, but no too great accuracy should be sought for in its interpretation.

Ras Ibn Hani thus lies in an area deeply affected by intricate movements of peoples which started long before the end of the XIIIth century, and in the turmoil of which Greek legends, after all, try to bring some order. Palestine lay on the margin of the troubled area and was bound to be touched only by the major migration which led the Sea Peoples to the great clash with Ramesses III. This accounts for much of the lack of similarity which we have noted between the pottery of Ras Ibn Hani and that of Palestine in the XIIth and XIth centuries.

But, on the other hand, there is a striking parallelism, in some of the pottery of Ras Ibn Hani, with the evolution that led to the emergence of Philistine pottery in Palestine. The first element is the appearance of motifs foreign to Myc. III C:1 but frequent on the Canaanite pottery of the Late Bronze Age: the cross–hatched triangle and pannel principally. They are found on some vases of the same fabric as local Myc. III C:1, but usually on closed shapes, less convenient for the development of the antithetic spirals (fig. 23) . Then, slightly later, bichromy is introduced into the decoration of some vases. It is never used on vases with antithetic spirals, but at least once on the rim of a bowl which preserves the shape of the Myc. III C:1 deep bowls and, more frequently, on vases bearing the wavy line motive. Some pots have a decoration with bichrome concentric half-circles with pointed center (fig. 25, A–C; compare also fig. 24, A, C, E–G), sometimes

met on Philistine pottery, and reminiscent of the concentric half-circles with filled-in center of the same pottery (cf. fig. 10). A stirrup-vase with a red spiral encircled in dark brown on the top disk of the stirrup (fig. 25, F) could very well have been found in Palestine, were it not for its unmistakably local fabric.

The jug with strainer spout (fig. 25, D), a unique examplary in Ras Ibn Hani to date, is particularly significant. The use of this shape must be specific: it has been suggested long ago that it was used to pour a kind of beer, the solid parts of which were held back by the strainer, when the beverage was poured. It is very rare in mainland Greece, although it appears in Mycenae in the Late Helladic III B period, but fairly frequent in Late Helladic III C contexts in the islands, especially in Rhodes. We find it again in Cyprus (fig. 26).[78] There, it enjoyed a lasting success and it sometimes received, more than any other shape in the second half of the XIIth century and the first half of the XIth, a bichrome decoration. Finally, it is not rare in the repertory of Philistine pottery (fig. 10). One can thus trace, through the eastern Mediterranean, a stream of supposed «beer drinkers», some of them settled in Ras Ibn Hani.

The decoration of the Ras Ibn Hani jug with strainer spout recalls both Cyprus and Palestine. Palestine through the technique, with a slip of irregular thickness and a rather powdery and fragile paint of pinkish-red and brown colours. Cyprus through the motive, which is rather incomplete but shows hatching (not cross-hatching) in two different directions: we can compare this with the horizontal bands of hatching in alternative directions, forming hatched triangles, which appear on Myc. III C vases and are still popular on Cypriote Proto White Painted ware in the XIth century.

Through its whitish slip and the quality of its paints, this jug also bridges the gap between the pottery of Myc. III C:1 tradition and the other category of painted pottery characteristic of the early Iron Age level at Ras Ibn Hani, the bichrome white-coated ware (fig. 27). This last ware is much less abundant than Myc. III C:1 type pottery. Its fabric is generally very hard, pinkish-red, with a grey core; it is covered with a thick, white, porous coating, decorated in dark brown and orange to purple; the paint is matt and fragile. The shapes are neck-craters with two vertical handles (fig. 27, A-D), a number of pilgrim flasks (fig. 25, E), and only one example of a bottle with tiny handle (s) on the shoulder (fig. 27, E) (an interesting shape, attested in Cyprus and in Philistine pottery). This ware is totally unknown in Ugarit in the Late Bronze Age. It has been found in the Iron Age level at Tell Kazel. It must have been produced locally or regionally, during the

Notes

1 – On the results – archaeological, epigraphical and others – of the Ras Ibn Hani Expedition since 1975, see principally the preliminary reports by A. Bounni, J. and E. Lagarce, N. Saliby, in *Syria*, LIII, 1976, p. 233–279, fig. 1–30 (= *Annales Archéologiques Arabes Syriennes*, 1976, p. 27–64, fig. 1–30, in Arabic); *Syria*, LV, 1978, p. 233–301, fig. 1–53, pl. IX–X (=*AAS*, 1977–1978, p. 23–84, fig. 1–67), with contributions by P. Sanlaville, p. 303–305, and G. Bossuet, p. 307–311, fig. 1–2; *Syria*, LVI, 1979, p. 217–291, fig.1–56, pl. V–VIII (with L. Badre); *Syria*, LVIII, 1981,p. 215–297, fig. 1–55 (with L. Badre, P. Leriche and M. Touma), with a contribution by P. Bordreuil, p. 297–299, 1 fig.; J.P. Rey–Coquais, *AAS*, 1976, p.51–61, 1 fig. (= *Syria*, LV, 1978, p. 313–325, 1, fig.); P.Bordreuil and A. Caquot, *Syria*, LVI 1979, p. 293–315 pl. VI–VII; D. Arnaud and D. Kennedy *ibid*., p. 317–324, pl. VIII; P. Bordreuland A Caquot Syria, 1980, p. 343–373, fig. 1–22; J. and E. Lagarce, in *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions te Belles–Lettres*, 1978, p. 45–65, fig. 1–13; A. Bounni, *CRAI*, 1979, p. 277–294, fig. 1–11: J. and E. Lagarce, P. Leriche, *CR AI*, 1980, p. 10–34, fig. 1–12: J. and E. Lagarce, A. Bounni, N. Saliby, *CRAI*, 1983, p. 249–290, fig. 1–16; P. Bordreuil, J. and E. Lagarce, A. Bounni, N. Saliby, *CRAI*, 1984, p. 395–435, fig. 1–12; A. Bounni, in *La Syrie au Bronze Récent. Cinquantenaire d'Ougarit–Ras Shamra* (Extr. de la XXVIIème RAI), Paris, 1982, p. 23–27, fig. 1–5; J. Lagarce, *ibid*., p. 29–36, fig. 1–4; N. Saliby, *ibid*., p. 37–41, fig. 1–11; P. Bordreuil, *ibid*., p. 43–44: J. Lagarce, in *Atti del I° Congresso Intrenazionale di Studi Fenici e Pucini*, Rome, 1983, p. 223–226, pl. I–VII; L. Badre, *ibid*.; J. and E. Lagarce, in *Acts of the Colloquium « Mari, Ebla, Ugarit», Rome*, 26–28 April 1984, forthcoming. — In the present paper, the drawings are by Y. du Puytison, the photographs by J. Lagarce and M. Rouini.

2 – The literature on the Sea Peoples and on connected questions is very rich. The list given here is far from complete, particularly since this paper was prepared while we were on the dig, away from convenient libraries and from our files; we apologize for this. — R. Dussaud. *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Egée*, 2nd ed., Paris. 1914; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Egypte*, Paris, 1938, p. 428–441, 450–452 in the 5th ed., 1975; E. Wainwright, *Some Sea–Peoples and others, in the Hittites Archives*, in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, XXV, 1939, p. 148–153,fig, 1;p. Montet. *La vie quotidienne en Egypte au temps des Ramsès*, Paris, 1946, p. 221–234, *passim*, 340–341; A. Gardiner, *Anc. Eg. Onomastica*, Oxford, p. 1947, 124–127, 194–205; W. F. Albright, *The Eastern Mediterranean about* 1060 *B.C.*, in *Studies presented to David Moore Robinson*, I, St Louis, 1951; Wainwright, *Asiatic Keftiou*, in *Amer. Journ. of Archaeol*., LVI, 1952, p. 196–212 (with the earlier bibliography of this author); Id., *Keftiou and Karamania (Asia Minor)*, in *Anatolian Studies*, IV, 1954, p. 33–48; Albright, *Northeast–Mediterranean Dark Ages and the Early Iron Age Art of Syria*, in *The Aegean and the Near East, Studies presented to Hetty Goldman*, New York, 1956, p. 144–164; Wainwright, *Caphtor–Cappadocia*, in *Vet. Test*., IV, 1956' p. 199–210; F. Schachermeyr, *Die Seevölker im Orient*, in ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ, *Gedenkschrift Paul Kretschmer*, II, Vienna, 1957, p. 118–126; Wainwright, *Some Early Philistine History*, in *Vet. Test*., IX, 1959, p. 73–84; Id., *The Teresh, the Etruscans and Asia Minor*, in *Anat. St*., IX, 1959, p. 197–213; Id., *Merneptah's Aid to the Hittites*, in *JEA*, XLVI, 1960, p. 24 sq.; P. Mertens, *Les Peuples de la Mer*, in *Chronique d'Egypte*, XXXV. 1960, (p. 65–80; G.L. Huxley, *Achaeans and Hittites*, Oxford, 1960; Wainwright, *Some Sea–Peoples*, in *JEA*, XLVII, 1961, p. 71–90; Id., *The Meshwesh*, in *JEA*, XLVIII, 1962, p. 89 sq.: W. Helck, *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien . . .*, Wiesbaden, 1962, partic. p. 240–249: H. Otten, *Neue Quellen zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches*, in *Mitt. d. deutsch. Orient–Gesellsch*., 94, 1963, p. 1–23;

Wainwright, *A Teucrian at Salamis in Cyprus*, in *Journ. of Hell. St.*, LXXXIII, 1963, p. 146–151; B. Hrouda, *Die Einwanderung der Philister in Palästina. Eine Studie zur Seevölkerbewegung des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Vorderasiatische Archäologie (Festschrift für A. Moortgat)*, Berlin, 1964, p. 126–134, fig. 1–22; J. Prignaud, *Caftorim et Kérétim*, in *Revue Biblique*, LXXI, 1964, p. 215–229; F. Stubbings, *The Recession of Mycenaean Civilization* (*Cambridge Anc. Hist.*, revised ed., II, Chap. XXVII), Cambridge, 1965; P. Montet, *L'Egypte éternelle*, Paris, 1970, p. 145–146 (English ed., London, 1964); J. B. Pritchard, *New Evidence on the Role of the Sea Peoples in Canaan at the Beginning of the Iron Age*, in W. A. Ward (ed.), *The Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations*, Beirut, 1968, p. 99–112, fig. 1–3 (the material is now published in full, with more tombs, in Pritchard, *The Cemetery at Tell es-Saᶜidiyeh, Jordan*, Philadelphia, 1980); J. Leclant, *Les relations entre l'Egypte et la Phénicie, du voyage d'Ounamon à l'expédition d'Alexandre*, *ibid.*, p. 9–31, partic. p. 9–11, and p. 24, n. 20; J. Nougayrol, E. Laroche, Ch. Virolleaud, C.F.A. Schaeffer and others, *Ugaritica*, V, *Nouveaux textes accadiens, hourrites et ugaritiques*. . . , Paris, 1968; R.D. Barnett, *The Sea Peoples* (*CAH*, rev. ed., II, Chap. XXVIII), Cambridge, 1969; H. Klengel, *Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend vor unserer Zeit*, 2, *Mittel-und Südsyrien*, Berlin, 1969, partic. p. 406–407; P. Garelli *Le Proche-Orient asiatique*, I, Paris, 1969, p. 218–223, 316–318; E. O. Forrer, *Der Untergang des Hatti- Reiches*, in *Ugaritica*, VI, Parsi, 1969, p. 207–228, 2 maps; K. Galling, *Die Kopfzier der Philister in den Darstellungen von Medinet Habu*, *ibid.*, p. 247–266, fig. 1–14; F. Schachermeyr, *Hörnerhelme und Federkronen als Kopfbedeckungen bei den Seevölkern der ägyptischen Reliefs*, *ibid.*, p. 451–459; D. Arnaud, *Le Proche-Orient ancien*, Paris, 1970, p. 145–150, 155–156; A. M. Snodgrass, *The Dark Age of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1971; R. de Vaux, *Histoire ancienne d'Israël*, I, Paris, 1971, p. 466–480; M. Liverani, *s. v. Ras Shamra*, in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*, Paris, 1979, col. 1312–1314; J. D. Muhly, *The Land of Alashiya: references to Alashiya in the texts of the Second Millenium B.C. and the History of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age*, in *Acts of the 1rst Intern. Congr. of Cypriot Studies*, I, Nicosia, 1972, p. 215–219; J. Bouzek, *Bronze Age Greece and the Balkans: Problems of Migrations*, in *Bronze Age Migration in the Aegean. Proceedings of the 1rst Internat. Colloq. on Aegean Prehist.*, London, 1973, p. 169–177, fig. 4–15; D. J. Blackman, Sp. Marinatos, T. G. E. Powell, *Migration in explanation of culture change: Final Discussion*, *ibid.*, p. 315–319; A. Birchall and R. A. Crossland, *Retrospect and prospects: Editorial review and discussion*, *ibid.*, p. 323–347, fig. 81; Snodgrass, *Metal-work as evidence for immigration in the Late Bronze Age*, *ibid.*, p. 209–213 (and intervention of Bouzek, p. 214); *Proceedings of the IIIrd Intern. Colloq. on Aegean Prehist.* (*Sheffield*, 1973), forthcoming, entirely devoted to « The Sea Peoples»; C.F.A. Schaeffer, *Les Peuples de la Mer et leurs sanctuaires à Enkomi-Alasia aux XIIe-XIe s. av. n. è.*, in *Alasia*, I, Paris, 1971, p. 505–566, fig. 1–19; N. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples . . . 1250–1150 B. C.*, London, 1978; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *Das«Seefahrende Volk» von Sikila* (*RS*. 34. 129), in *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 10, 1978, p. 53–56; G. A. Lehmann, *Die Šikalaju — Ein neues Zeugnis zu den«Seevölkern»-Heerfahrten im späten 13. Jh. v. Chr.* (*RS*. 34: 129), in *Ug. Forsch.*, 11, 1979, p. 481–494. — A number of works deal more specifically with the Sea Peoples in Palestine, for example: R.A.S. Macalister, *The Philistines, Their History and Civilization*, London, 1911 (repr. Chicago, 1965, with bibliogr.); E. Saussey, *La céramique philistine*, in *Syria*, V, 1924, p. 169–185; A. R. Burn, *Minoans, Philistines and Greeks, B. C. 1400–900*, London, 1930; M. Noth, *Zur Geschichte des Namens Palästina*, in H. W. Wolff (ed.), *Aufsätze zur biblischen Landes- und Altertumskunde*, I, Neukirchen, 1971, p. 294–308; F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, I, Paris, 1933, p. 261–270 of 3rd ed., 1967; W. A. Heurtley, *The Relationship between « Philistine» and Mycenaen Pottery*, in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine*, IV, 1935, p. 90–110; Id., *Philistine and Mycenaean Pottery*, in *QDAP*, V, 1936, p. 90; O. Eissfeldt, *Philister und Phönizier*, in *Der Alte Orient*, 34:3, 1936, p. 5–41; A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, I and II, Stockholm, 1941; T. Dothan, *Archaeological Reflections on the Philistine Problem*, in *Antiquity and Survival*, II (2–3), 1957, p. 151–154, fig. 1–19, pl. I–IV; G. E. Wright, *Philistine Coffins and Mercenaries*, in *The Biblical Archaeologist*, XXII, 3, Sept. 1959, p. 53–66; N. Avigad, *s. v. Filistea, ceramica*, in *Enciclopedia dell' Arte Antica*, III, Rome, 1960, p. 677–679,

fig. 833; M. L. and H. Erlenmeyer, *Über Philister und Kreter*, in *Orientalia*, XXIX, 1960; J. L. Benson, *A Problem in Orientalizing Cretan Birds: Mycenaean or Philistine Prototypes*, in *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, XX, 1961, p. 73–84, pl. III–VI; Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible, a Historical Geography*, Londres, 1967, p. 245–253; V. R. d'A. Desborough, *The last Mycenaeans and their Successors, an Archaeological Survey, c. 1200–1000 B. C.* , Oxford, 1964, p. 209–214; various authors, in *Bible et Terre Sainte*, 71, Feb. 1965; M. Dothan and D. W. Freedman, *Ashdod*, I, in *ʿAtiqot* (Engl. Series)II,, V 1967; M. L. and H. Erlenmeyer, M. Delcor, *s. v. Philistins*, in *SDB*, 1965–1966, col. 1233–1288, fig. 737–742; J. C. Waldbaum, *Philistine Tombs at Tell Fara and their Aegean Prototypes*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 70, 1966, p. 330–340, fig. 1–16; C. Nylander, *Troja–Philistor–Achämeniden:zur Moortgat–Festschrift*, in *Berliner Jahrbuch fur Vor–und Frühgeschichte*, 6, 1966, p. 203–217; T. Dothan, *The Philistines and their Material Culture*, Jerusalem, 1967; M. Dothan, *Ashdod*, II–III, in *'Atiqot*, IX–X, 1971; T. Dothan, *Relations between Cyprus and the Philistine Coast*, in *Acts of the Intern. Symp.«The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean»*, Nicosia, 1973 p. 187–188; K. A. Kitchen, *The Philistines*, in D. J. Wiseman (ed.), *Peoples of Old Testament Times*, Oxford, 1973, p. 53–78; P. Garelli, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique*, II, Paris, 1974, p. 65–66; various authors, in *Bible et Terre Sainte*, 167, Jan. 1975; G. Edelstein, *Les Philistins, peuple de la mer*, in *Archéologia*, 112, Nov. 1977, p. 32–36,; Muhly, *How Iron Technology Changed the Ancient World–And Gave the Philistines a Military Edge*, in *Biblical Archaeology Review*, Nov.–Dec. 1982; A. Mazar, *Excavations at Tell Qasile*, I, 1980, II, 1985 — Much work is presently in progress for the reassessment of late Mycenaean pottery (E. French), the identification of imported Myc. III C pottery in Palestine (V. Hankey).

3 – On the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, cf. J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, Chicago, 1906, § 115–131; the publications of the Oriental Institute of Chicago, under the direction of H. H. Nelson, partic. Nelson and others, *Medinet Habu*, I, *Earlier Historical Records of Ramses* III (OIP, VIII), Chicago, 1930; W. Edgerton and J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III*, Chicago, 1936; see also bibliogr. in Drioton–Vandier, *L'Egypte*, *op. cit.*, p. 378, 442, 450–452. On the Harris Papyrus, cf. bibliogr. *ibid.*, p. 378–379, 508; Breasted, *op. cit*, §401–412. —The location of the battle on land is not clear from the Egyptian texts (cf. N. Sandars, *The Sea–Peoples*, 1978, *op. cit.*, p. 120–124). It must have taken place south of the gathering point of the invaders in Amurru and on Ramesses' frontier in Djahi. But we know neither where the gathering point was, nor how far from it the battle was fought. In Thutmosis III's time, the northern limit of Djahiseems to have been in the area of Southern Nahr al–Kebir: Tunip, Ardata, are mentioned in the relation of his fifth campaign (cf. Drioton–Vandier, p. 401). It is possible that Egypt had, for a time, restablished its power in this area in the first years of Ramesses III. If it were so, Schaeffer's interpretation of the Shumitti report (*Ugaritica*, V, p. 666–695; Helck, *Beziehungen*. . . , 1962, *op. cit.*, p. 244, also locates the land battle in Syria) as describing the situation just before the land battle in the area of Ardata should not be dismissed without examination, although it raises a number of questions, chronological, topographical and others, unanswerable for the time being. Schaeffer's dating of Shumitti's letter is generally rejected, (cf. Liverani, *SDB*, *op. cit.*, col. 1307). In any case, the conclusions drawn by Schaeffer after his study of the Shumitti report in correlation with archaeological observations in Ras Shamra cannot be maintained (cf. below, p. n. 11 sqq.). But a location of the battle in Palestine, far from Amurru, is not satisfactory either.

4 – On the conflicts and migrations in different areas of the Near East in the second half of the XIIIth cent. B.C., see for ex. Arnaud, 1970, *op. cit.*, p. 76–77, 90–93, 133–134; Liverani, *SDB*, *op. cit.*, col. 1311–1314. Internal structural causes probably played a significant role in the breaking down of the Hittite empire. The hold of Hattushas on satellite states was loosening. Mitanni had long had to be abandoned (cf. Arnaud, p. 117) as a relay to Hittite authority on Syria, in favour of more western Karkemish, which was perhaps less obedient. Suppiluliuma had to replace the king of

XIIth century and a large part of the XIth, with a slow fading of its specific characteristics.[74] The shapes and the decoration are much closer to those of the Late Bronze Age pottery in Syria and Palestine than are those of the local Myc. III C:1. This ware probably heralds the presence at Ras Ibn Hani of people who settled there with the producers of the Myc. III C:1 pottery.

This might indicate, that there were, among the invaders, elements who did not originate from the Mycenean area. The pottery of Ras Ibn Hani would then reflect the heterogenous composition of the North and Sea Peoples. The fact that this ware is lacking in Cyprus tends to support the idea that the North and Sea Peoples followed more than one route.

The long traditions of the White Slip ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and of the Egyptian New Kingdom pottery could have contributed remote models for the white coating and for the kind of bichromy, which recalls Egyptian vase-painting. But Northern Syria and Anatolia should not be forgotten in our quest for the possible origins of our white-coated bichrome ware, although nothing similar to it seems to have turned up there as yet. The knowledge of this ware may prove enlightening for the study of the genesis of Philistine pottery, a great part of which could very well be described as a white-coated bichrome ware. When the Sea Peoples were established in Palestine, the fact that they had been in contact, on their way thither, with people like the producers of our white-coated bichrome pottery, perhaps driving away some of them into their migration, can have made them more receptive to the influence of the Canaanites among whom they had established themselves (fig. 28).

Anyhow, the trend towards a more and more complete absorption by the Semitic environment of the cultural elements which the Sea Peoples had brought with them is clear in Ras Ibn Hani as well as in Palestine. It eventually led to the disappearance from the local pottery of the shapes (except for the jug with strainer spout) and motifs introduced by them.[75]

Alalakh by a Hittite governor, his own son, to ensure fidelity of former Mukish (cf. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica*, V, *op. cit.*, p. 91–94, n° 26=RS. 20.03, 1.5–13). The expeditions against Alasia perhaps had a similar aim, but, if so, they did not meet with complete success. The protectorate over Ugarit had become rather formal: the king of the small kingdom did not show great eagerness to help Hatti when so ordered, and when Hatti had to press him, he did not try to threaten him, but to convince him that the matter was one of life and death (cf. *Ugaritica*, V, n° 33–34 and 171, p. 105–108, 323–324). This slowliness to assist and the insecurity on sea which made catering difficult probably contributed to make the famine in Ura a very serious one. Assyria benefited by this erosion of the Hittite authority and endeavoured to quicken it (on the Assyrian pressure on Hatti, cf. the recent study by S. Lackenbacher, *Nouveaux documents d'Ugarit, I, Une lettre royale*, in *Revue Assyriologique*, 76, 1982, p. 141–156, of tablet RS. 34.165 and the historical context of this document, with references to former literature). The problems in the south and west of Anatolia, with Arzawa and the Ahhiyawas, are directly connected with the question of the Sea Peoples: see below, in particular, the case of Mopsos. In the north-west, Phrygians, Mysians and Kashkash had started their migration in direction of central Anatolia (cf. Arnaud, p. 133–134).

5.– But they were certainly exceptional soldiers: they were highly appreciated as mercenaries and, as such, managed to occupy eminent positions. In Egypt, the Sherdens formed a «corps d'élite», the personal guard of Pharaoh, kept under his direct command (Montet, *La vie quot.*, *op. cit.*, p. 222–225,229); later on, under Psammetik I, the Carians will succeed the Sherdens (cf. Drioton–Vandier, *L'Egypte*, *op. cit.*, p. 575–584, *passim*). The personal guard of king David was composed of« Keretim and Peletim» (cf. *e. g.*, Prignaud, 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 226–227).

6 – See literature on the Philistines, above, p. 2.

7 – *Jos.*, XIII, 3.

8 – I *Sam.*, XIII,19–22; cf. Pritchard, *New evidence...*, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 99–112. Nevertheless, the text of Samuel must not be taken as clear evidence for the technical superiority of the Philistines: it concerns a time when these were dominating the Hebrews, and they may simply have used their temporary political and military advantage to impose a monopoly on smithcraft in order to prevent the production of weapons by the Hebrews.

9 – Cf. for ex. A. H. Gardiner, *The Misfortunes of Wenamun*, in *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, I, *Late-Egyptian Studies*, Brussels, 1932, p. 61–76; G. Lefebvre, *Romans et contes égyptiens de l'époque pharaonique*, Paris, 1949, p. 204–220; Drioton–Vandier, *L'Egypte*, *op. cit.*, p. 501–502,510, with bibliogr. More specifically for the contribution of this text to our knowledge of Eastern Mediterranean in the XIth cent., cf. Albright, *The Eastern Mediterranean, ...* 1951, *op. cit.*, p. 223–231, and J. Leclant, *Les relations entre l'Egypte et la Phénicie...*, 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 9–11, 22–23, n.–4–17, both with bibliogr.

10 – Troubles accompanying the Hebrew penetration, and possibly natural disasters: the destructions of Deir ʿAlla in the first quarter and in the second half of the XIIth cent. are by the excavator said to be the result of an earthquake (cf. H. J. Franken, *Palestine in the Time of the Nineteenth Dynasty*, b, *Archaeological Evidence*, in *CAH*, rev. ed., II, chap. XXVI, b. 1968).

11 – *Ugaritica*, V, p. 760–768.

12 – *Ibid.*, p. 761.

13 – *Ibid.*, p. 763–764.

14 – On the« House of the Alabasters», see E. and J. Lagarce, *Le chantier de la« Maison aux Albâtres»*, in H. de Contenson *et al.*, *Rapport préliminaire sur la XXXIVe campagne de fouilles (1973)*

à Ras Shamra, in *Syria*, LI, 1974, p. 5–23, pl. I–II. For the House of Patilu-wa, see J.-C. Courtois, *s. v. Ras Shamra*, in *SDB*, 1979, col. 1163–1166 (map, square L 24), 1277–1278.

15 – Cf., for ex., *Neue Entdeckungen und Funde in Ugarit*, in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, XXI, 1966, p. 132.

16 – For ex. in the « House of the Alabasters », cf. Lagarce, in *Syria*, 1974. *op. cit.*, p. 8–9, pl. I, 1–3.

17 – Cf. our report in *CRAI*, 1984, p. 408–411, fig. 7.

18 – *Ibid.*, p. 412–414, and 430–432, fig. 11.

19 – *Ibid.*, p. 426–427.

20 – Cf. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica*, V, nº 22,23,24, p. 83–89 (= RS. 20.18, L.1, 20. 238).

21 – One may wonder why the Ugaritic fleet was sent — certainly in obedience to an order of the Hittite king — as far west as the Lukka-Lands. A number of reasons appear if one looks at a map. Lycia is a mountainous area, the coast of which offers numerous coves where ships could easily be hidden: the expression used by Eshuwara, the great vizier of Alasia, in a letter to the king of Ugarit (RS. 20.18 = *Ugaritica*, V, nº 22, p. 83–85), saying that the enemy kept twenty ships in the mountainous areas, applies well to the Lycian coast (but the same could be said for Cilicia Trachea). The Sea Peoples, good seamen as they certainly were, could probably not, as a rule, cross very large stretches of water on open sea, and had to sail at a short distance from the coast. The easternmost point of Lycia is the first place, coming from the west, from where they could sail directly southeastwards to Cyprus if they chose, in a daring cross-navigation of about 160 miles. Cape Gelidonya is thus the last obliged passage, after which the ships could scatter in the bay of Pamphylia and all around Cyprus, keeping at seeing-distance of either the Anatolian, the Syrian or the Cypriote shore. The shipwrecks explored by G. Bass and his team near Cape Gelidonya and Cape Kaş illustrate this route. Whether E. O. Forrer's reconstitution of Mopsos' control on Phaselis in connection with the Ugarit texts is correct in its details or not (*Ugaritica*, VI, 1969, p. 224–225), it is right in underlining the strategic importance of the concerned area.

22 – Cf. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica*, V, nº 23, p. 86 = RS. L. 1.

23 – Cf. Lagarce, in *Syria*, 1974, *op. cit.*, p. 5–6, fig. 3. On the use of wood in Ugaritic architecture, cf. our remarks on the Northern Palace at Ras Ibn Hani, in *CRAI*, 1983, *op. cit.*, p. 262–273, fig. 7–11, and O. Callot, *Ras Shamra-Ougarit*, I, *Une maison à Ougarit*, Paris, 1983, *passim*, partic. p. 27–28.

24 – There may have been a second Asiatic campaign of Ramesses III, which could have caused damage in Syria after the battle against the Sea Peoples, but how far this campaign reached is unknown, and even its reality can be questioned (cf. Drioton-Vandier, *op. cit.*, p. 437–439).

25 – In this paper, we keep to the usual terminology of Syrian and Palestinian archaeology, with the Late Bronze Age ending at the arrival of the Sea Peoples (ca. 1190 B. C.); we do not use the terminology of the Anglo-Saxon and Swedish archaeologists working on Cyprus, who include Late Cypriote III (ca. 1210/1190 – ca. 1050 B. C.) in the Late Bronze Age.

26 – Desborough, *The Last Mycenaeans. . .* , 1964, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

27 – For ex. C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica*, I, Paris, 1939, p. 53–106, and *Ugaritica*, II, Paris, 1949, p. 282–293, fig. 122–127; J.-C. Courtois, in *Ugaritica*, VII, Paris, 1978, p. 292–363, fig. 33–58; D. Anson, *Composition and Provenance of Rude Style and Related Wares*, in *Reports of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1980, p. 109–127, fig. 1–3; Id. *The Rude Style Late Cypriot, II C–III Pottery: an analytical Typology*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia*, 13, 1980, p. 1–18.

28 – On the population of Cyprus from the Neolithic to the Early Iron Age, cf. for ex. V. Karageorghis, *Chypre*, Genève, 1968, p. 34–67.

29 – The problem of the identification of Alasia with Cyprus is a much debated one, which we cannot discuss here. We adopt the view that Alasia is very probably Cyprus. See a good presentation of the problem, of the history and bibliography of the polemic in J. D. Muhly, *The Land of Alashiya*, 1972, *op. cit.* p., 201–219. Add Schaeffer, in *Alasia*, I, 1971, *op. cit.* p. 510, n. 13, p. 560, and p. 520–521, n. 40–42, p.563; O. Masson, *Remarques sur les cultes chypriotes à l'époque du Bronze Récent*, = in *Acts of the Intern. Symp. « The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean»*, Nicosie, 1973, p. 110–121., J. Ledant, in *Salamine de Chypre* (Colloque C.N.R.S. 578), Paris 1980, p. 131–135.

30 – For references to Alasia in the Tell el-Amarna Letters, see Helck, *Beziehungen . . .*, 1962, *op. cit.*, Chap. 15; J. D. Muhly, *op. cit.*, p. 213–215.

31 – Cf. W. Fl. Petrie, *Syria and Egypt from the Tell el Amarna Letters*, London, 1898, n° 31, p. 46 in the 1907 ed.; S.A.B. Mercer, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets*, Toronto, 1939, n° 38., p. 201–203.

32 – Cf. Stubbings, in *CAH*, II, chap. XXVII, 1965, *op. cit.*, p. 5–6. The dating of this text has been dicussed, see H. Otten, *Sprachliche Stellung und Datierung des Madduwatta-Textes*, Wiesbaden, 1969; F. Bruschweiler, *Documents cunéiformes relatifs à Alasia*, in *Chypre des Origines au Moyen-Age*, Université de Genève, 1975, p. 14–16. The dating towards the end of the XIIIth century is more generally accepted than the higher dating.

33 – Cf. Stubbings, *ibid.*, p. 6; Guterbock, *The Hittite Conquest of Cyprus reconsidered*, in *JNES*, 26, 1967, p. 73–81; Schaeffer, in *Ugaritica*, V, p. 744–753; Liverani, *SDB*, col. 1313. According to Forrer, *Der Untergang des Hatti-Reiches*, 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 207–210, there could have been two Hittite campaigns in Alasia, one under Arnuwandash, the second under Suppiluliuma II.

34 – Cf. V. Karageorghis, *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician discoveries in Cyprus*, London, 1976, p. 53–54,59–60, fig. 9, pl. 1.

35 – Cf. P. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations 1948–1958*, Mainz, 1969–1971, p. 79–81, 513; Schaeffer, in *Alasia*, I, 1971, *op. cit.*, p. 572–573.

36 – Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, 1978, *op. cit.*, p. 151–153; see our remarks in *Syria*, LVI, 1979, p. 244–245, n. 3.

37 – For ex. the bastions of the city-wall at Kition, cf. V. Karageorghis, *Kition*, *op. cit.*, p. 53, pl. 1; a door-jamb with embossment at Nitovikla, dated to the end of Middle Cypriote III by E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, Stockholm, 1940, p. 11,138–149, and a number of built tombs in Enkomi. These are tombs 1,11,12, and 66 of the British Museum excavations, cf. A.S. Murray, *Excavations at Enkomi*, in A.S. Murray, A.H. Smith, H.B. Walters, *Excavations in Cyprus*, London, 1900, p.5–6, fig. 5,p.35–36, fig.63–64, p. 38, 51,52, giving no description of the tombs except for n° 66; a very brief description in E. Gjerstad, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*, Stockholm, 1926,

p. 67 (Catalogue), 67–72, *passim*. See also E. Sjöqvist, *Problems*, *op. cit.*, p. 22–23, fig. 5 (2); A. Westholm, *Built Tombs in Cyprus*, *in Opuscula Archaeologica*, II, 1941, p. 42–43; P. Aström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (*The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, IV, 1 C), Lund, 1972, p. 48–50, fig. 27 a. The ashlar-built tombs found by the British excavators had been filled up and lost; they have been discovered again by the French expedition (see J.-C. Courtois, *Fouilles d'Enkomi*, in V. Karageorghis, *Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1965*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 90, 1966, p. 344–345); French Tomb 1322 is British Tomb 66, French Tomb 1394 is British Tomb 1, French Tomb 1409 is British Tomb 11; another ashlar tomb found by Schaeffer, n° 1031, is possibly, according to its location, British Tomb 63 (cf. Murray, *op. cit.*, plan p. 30), about which nothing is said in the publications. In their layout and building techniques, these tombs are much less sophisticated than the large Ras Shamra ashlar tombs. Recent work at Kalavassos (cf. A. K. South, *Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios*, *1979 : A Summary Report*, in *RDAC*, 1980, p. 32, 40, 47–48) and at Pyla (V. Karageorghis, in *CRAI*, Nov. 1982) has brought to light new evidence of the use of ashlar masonry in XIIIth cent. Cyprus.

38 – Yet the fact that Tudhaliya IV and Suppiluliuma had to interfere in Alasia can be taken as meaning that something was going on there that was dangerous for the control of the sea-routes by the traditional powers; but the Hittites can also have simply felt a need for a stronger hold on Alasia to face danger from the West, against which they also marshalled the Ugaritic navy, cf. Nougayrol, in *Ugaritica*, V, p. 79–80,83–89, texts n° 22–24 (RS. 20.18, RS. L. 1, RS. 20.238); on this complex period, see Muhly, *The Land of Alasia*, 1972, *op. cit.*, p. 217–219, and Forrer, in *Ugaritica*, VI; on the need for grain in Hittite countries, cf. Nougayrol, *ibid.*, p. 105–108, 320–321, 323–324, texts n° 34, 171.

39 – Cf. texts 22–24 in *Ugaritica*, V.

40 – Cf. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations*, *op. cit.*, p. 485–487.

41 – That the lack of Myc. III C in Ras Shamra is not due to an interruption of contacts with the Mycenaean world is shown by the transitional Myc. III B/III C vases, cf. J.-C. Courtois, in *Ugaritica*, VII, p. 327, and below, p. n. 63. The correlation with Egyptian chronology after Mineptah is not yet clearly attested, but supported by many indications: late Myc. III B in the same level as the Tausert vase at Deir ʿAlla, references to a seaborne enemy at Ugarit, while the Sea Peoples who attacked Egypt under Mineptah came from the west with the Libyans, etc.

42 – Schaeffer's interpretation of the stratigraphy in Building 18 was long contested, but he maintained his opinion steadily (cf. lastly in *Alasia*, I, 1971, *op. cit.*, p. 522 – 523, 533 – 544, and the corresponding notes). It now appears that he was right on the main point in discussion, the XIIIth cent. date of ashlar masonry in Cyprus, other examples of which have recently been found or identified on the island (Enkomi, Palaipaphos, Pyla-Kokkinokremos, Kalavassos, Kition). We must then accept that floor V of Building 18 was reused without modification of the architecture, as Schaeffer stated. If we have also to lower the end of the use of Late Helladic III B pottery to 1200/1190 (while L H III C had probably already begun to emerge), then the Sea Peoples can be considered to have reached Enkomi towards the end of the first phase of use of floor V. The case of the rampart is similar, the construction of the city wall having started in a LB context and the outer strenthening resting on a layer which contains LH III C sherds, cf. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations . . .* , *op. cit.*

43 – Cf. J. Lagarce, *La cachette de fondeur aux épées (Enkomi 1967) et l'atelier voisin*, in *Alasia*, I, 1971, p. 432. See also, for ex., *Acts of the Intern. Archaeol. Symp.* « *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 BC*», *Larnaca*, 1981, Nicosia, 1982, especially the contributions of J.-C. Courtois, *L'activité métallurgique et les bronzes d'Enkomi au Bronze Récent* (*1600–1100 av. J.C.*), and H. Matthäus,

Die zyprische Metallindustrie der ausgehenden Bronzezeit: Einheimische, altagäische und nahöstliche Elemente p. 185–201.

44 – Cf. the ivory casket of Brit. Tomb 58 in Enkomi, Murray, in *Excavations in Cyprus*, *op. cit.*, pl. I, nº 996; H.–G. Buchholz and V. Karageorghis. *Altägäis und Altkypros*, Tubingen, 1971, p. 163, 482, nº 1749.

45 – Found in the sanctuary of the Horned God in Enkomi, cf. Dikaios, *Enkomi Excavations*, *op. cit.*, pl. 183, 184, 187, nº 184; Buchholz–Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkypros*, *op. cit.*, p. 165, 484, nº 1760.

46 – A new type of bronze swords, as well as cnemids, seem to appear then, although they could have been introduced a little earlier: the sword is found once in Ugarit, but in an emergency excavation which did not allow an accurate examination of the context (cf. N. Saliby, *Une tombe d'Ugarit découverte fortuitement en* 1970, in *AAS*, 1979–1980, p. 122, fig. 28, p. 136 (28). It is typical that the same type of swords is much more frequent in Cyprus, cf. J. Lagarce, *Quatre épées de bronze provenant d'une cachette de fondeur à Enkomi–Alasia*, in *Ugaritica*, VI, p. 349–368; Id., *La cachette de fondeur* . . . , in *Alasia*, I, *op. cit.* Other bronzes are considered to be of Aegean origin, cf. H. W. Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, Oxford, 1964, *passim* (*contra*, Matthäus, *Die zyprische Metallindustrie* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 196). The introduction and development of new types, whether foreign or indigenous, is anyhow a sign of the vitality and prosperity of the Cypriote metal industry, which would not have been possible if the international traffic in the Eastern Mediterranean had not been still active; the spread of the Sea Peoples and their presence on the Asian shore made this traffic particularly easy for Cyprus. For finds of one–edged curved knives also in Ugarit, cf. Schaeffer, in *Ugaritica*, V, p. 765–766; J.–C. Courtois, in *SDB*, col. 1268–1269; N. Saliby, *op. cit.*, p. 122, fig. 27, p. 136 (27).

47 – Later on, shapes derived from these wares reappeared in the Plain Wheel–made pottery, notably in the sanctuaries of the Horned God and of the Ingot God at Enkomi, cf. *Enk. Ex.*, p. 829–830; *Alasia* I,. 253–257.

48 – Cf. C. Schaeffer, in *Alasia*, I, partic. p. 506–513, 516, 522; Lagarce – Bounni – Saliby, in *CRAI*, 1983, p. 288–290, n. 56–58; J. and E. Lagarce, in *Enkomi et le Bronze Recent à Chypre*, Nicosie 1986, p. 69–81 and *passim*.

49 – Although Mycenaean products penetrated rather deeply inland in the Late Bronze Age, as shown for example by Tell es-Saᶜidiyeh: on this site, the mixture of Mycenaean, Cypriote and Egyptian material — or imitations — with local or Syro–Canaanite productions, at least in the cemetery, is closely reminiscent of the situation in Ugarit, probably with some more Egyptian influence (scarabs, pottery, bitumen burials of tombs 102 and 117), cf. Pritchard, *New Evidence* . . . , 1968, *op. cit.*, p. 99–112, fig. 1–3, pl. XXXVI–XL, and Id., *The Cemetery at Tell es–Saᶜidiyeh*, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Precisely the same mixture, only without the LB Cypriote elements, is typical of the Philistine pottery.

50 – Cf. Pritchard, *New Evidence* . . . , *op. cit.*, particularly p. 108–109, and, for the material from Beth Shan, p. 104. n. 58–61., *The Cemetery at Tell es–Sa'idiyeh*, *op. cit.*, p. 11–17, 40–43, fig. 4–5, p. 78–79, fig. 45; but see above, p. n. 8 on the alleged biblical attestation of the Philistines' superiority in metallurgy.

51 – The jug with strainer spout points to Rhodes and the Aegean islands. The stylistic influ-

ence of Eastern Greece may have been transmitted through Cyprus, where the same elements are found, but the selection which the Palestinian potters operate among these seems to reveal a predilection for Eastern Greek models.

52 – The sequence is best examplified in Ashdod, with monochrome imitation of Myc. III C:1 b in Level XIIIb, the beginning of proper Philistine pottery in Level XIIIa, Philistine pottery prevailing in Level XII and being superseded by traditional Near Eastern types in Level XI sq., cf. M. Dothan, Ashdod, II – III, *op. cit.*, 25–31, 136, 156–162. The parallelism with Ras Ibn Hani is particularly striking, although the stratification there does not make it possible to establish such a precise sequence.

53 – Cf. R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer 1902–1905 and 1907–1909*, III, London, 1912, pl. CLVIII/3.

54 – Cf. Dietrich-Loretz, *Das« Seefahrende Volk»* . . . , 1978, *op. cit.*; G. A. Lehmann, *Die Šikaluju* . . . . 1979. *op. cit.*

55 – Cf. J.-C. Courtois, *Deux villes du royaume d'Ugarit dans la vallée du Nahr el-Kébir, en Syrie du Nord*, in *Syria*, XL, 1963, p. 263, 269–271.

56 – For example a mould for amulets, *Syria*, 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 255, fig. 31, p. 256, n. 1; a bronze fibula, *Syria*, 1981, *op. cit.*, p. 268, fig. 34, p. 269, n. 1.

57 – Cf. our reports in *Syria*, 1978, p. 246–247, fig. 7; 1979, p. 245–248, fig. 22–24.

58 – Much closer to Palestine than Ras Ibn Hani, Tyre also seems to have maintained contacts with Cyprus in the XIIth/XIth cent., cf. P. M. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, Warminster, 1978, p. 65–66, pl XXXVII, 7, XXXIX, 20, XLI, 4.

59 – A moderate expression of this type of opinion in J. M. Cook, *Greek Settlement in the Eastern Aegean and Asia Minor*, in *CAH*, rev. ed., II, Chap. XXXVIII, Cambridge, 1964, p. 3–4.

60 – Cf. a very up-to-date review of part of the material of the Syro-Palestinian coast in P.J. Riis, *Grischen in Phönizien*, in *Phönizier im Westen = Madrider Beiträge* (Mainz), 8, 1982, p. 237–255, fig. 1–13 (which discussion, p. 256–260, especially, p. 257, n. 37, and N. Coldstream quoting Xth cent. Proto Geometric pieces from P. Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIIA. 1, XXX.3). The same author had given before a wider and more exhaustive survey of finds of Greek Geometric pottery in the Near East in *Sukas*, I, The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine, Copenhagen, 1970. p. 142–165, fig. 46–58. For Cyprus, the information has been collected in E. Gjerstad, Y. Calvet, M. Yon, J.-P. Thalmann, *Greek Geometric and Archaic Pottery found in Cyprus* (Skr. Sv. Inst. Athens, XXVI), 1977. See also P. Courbin, *Une assiette cycladique à Ras el Bassit*, in *Archéologie au Levant, Recueil R. Saidah*, Lyon-Paris, 1982, p. 193–204, fig. 1–10, with also some material from Tyre and mentions of recent finds at Rachidiyeh in Lebanon and Amathus in Cyprus; Id., *Une pyxis géométrique argienne (?) au Liban*, in *Berytus*, XXV, 1977, p. 147–157, fig. 1–13; C. Doumit, in *Annales d'hist. et dárcheol; Unv. St. Joseph de Beyrouth*, 1982, p. 124–125, pl. XVII, 9.

61 – Local manufacture of Greek pottery can also be taken as rather good evidence (so, for ex., the Mycenaean III C:1 type pottery of Ras Ibn Hani) if it does not show adaptation to the local taste and if it represents a high proportion of the material. There does not seem to have been such

a manufacture on the Levantine coast, although a good case can be made for Al Mina; even there, for as much as we know from L. Woolley, *Excavations at al Mina, Sueidia*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVIII, 1938, p. 18–26, the proportion of imports seems to be at least equivalent to that of local imitations, and the changes in the origins of the imported pieces and in the sources of inspiration of imitations seem to reflect rather the response of a local market to promotional efforts of dealers, native or foreign, than improbable sudden shifts in the ethnical composition of a Greek immigrated population. In today's Syria, an estimate of the proportion of Japanese or Chinese settlers based on imported or imitated material would lead to preposterous figures. In past centuries, and down to our times, the well-off bride's outfit included, in a Syrian, or preferably Venetian or Genovese wooden chest, Persian, Afghanese and Chinese carpets, Cashmere shawls, Far Eastern porcelain, Bohemian plate and crystalry, Persian decorated copper-work, etc. Greek graffiti, as found in Sukas, are clear evidence of the presence of Greeks, not of their number and status. If we turn to funerary customs, we find that the main changes occur between the end of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age: chamber tombs cease to be built or hewn out, cist tombs and simple graves appear (for Greece, cf. Desborough, in *CAH*, rev. ed., II, Chap. XXXVI, A, p. 8–10; for Enkomi, J. and E. Lagarce, in *Syria*, L, 1973, p. 113–114), then cremation. Movements of population must not necessarily be inferred from these changes: impoverishment and instability can make building chamber tombs impossible, and cremation, brought to Anatolia by the Hittites as early as the beginning of the 2nd millenium and attested at Alalakh and Ugarit in the XIIIth cent. (cf. Arnaud, *Le proche-Orient antique*, *op. cit.*, p. 98, 149–150), appears in Attica and in some places of the Greek world at a time when, according to Desborough (*ibid*, p. 16), there is no sign of a massive arrival of new peoples. In the first millenium, inhumations and cremations are often found in the same cemeteries (cf. Riis, *Griechen in Phönizien*, *op. cit.*, p. 249; W. Culican, *The Graves at Tell er-Reqeish*, in *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*, II,2,1973, p. 66, 102–103 and *passim*), though some urn-fields exist from the XIIth cent. onwards in the Syrian area (cf. P. J. Riis, *Hama*, *II*, 3, *Les cimetières à crémation*, Copenhagen, 1948), and somewhat later in Phoenicia (Culican, *ibid.*). Indeed, cemeteries in which inhumations and cremations are found side by side are met in practically all places which were in contact with Phoenicia (cf. W. Culican, *Phoenician Oil Bottles and Tripod Bowls*, in *Berytus*, XIX, 1970, p. 5–18). Riis insists (*Griechen in Phönizien*, p. 250) that the presence of Greek drinking vessels in the Tell Sukas tombs (end of VIIth cent. to beginning of Vth) denotes a Greek origin of the deads. In fact, the same phenomenon is to be found in many places around the Mediterranean from the VIIIth cent. onwards in obviously non-Greek tombs. A topic example is given by the Protocorinthian kotyle, a typical piece of furniture of Phoenico-Punic tombs in Carthage, Utica, Motya, Malta, Almuñecar, for example, of orientalizing Etruscan tombs, *e. g.* in Cervetri (Regolini-Galassi tomb), Palestrina (Bernardini tomb), of numerous tombs in Latium (necropolis of Esquiline and of Decima among others), cf. Culican, *op. cit.*, *passim*; M. Pellicer Catalân. *Excavaciones en la necrópolis púnica « Laurita » del Cerro de San Cristóbal (Almunecar, Granada) = Exc. arqueol. en Espana*, 17, 1963; L. Pareti, *La tomba Regolini-Galassi* . . . , Rome, 1947; C. Densmore-Curtis, *The Bernardini Tomb* (Memoirs of the Amer. Acad. in Rome, III), Rome, 1919; F. Villard *et al.*, Catalogue of the Exhibition « *Naissance de Rome*, » *Petit-Palais, Paris, mars-mai 1977*; at Salamis in Cyprus, Greek drinking vessels are found in the tombs of Cellarka as well as in royal tomb 1, for ex., in mainly Cypro-Phoenician context (cf. V. Karageorghis, *Salamis in Cyprus, Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, London 1969, p. 26, pl. 83–84); in Tambourit, the cinerary urn itself is imported, probably from the Argolid, cf. Courbin, *Une pyxis géométrique*, *op. cit.*

62 – On Greek foundation legends concerning the Levant, see R. Dussaud, *Note additionnee* (to Schaeffers report) in *Syria* X, 1929, p. 279– 303, and *Société des Amis du Louvre*, 9 mai 1933, p. 18–19; E. Gjerstad, J. Lindros, E. Sjöqvist, A. Westholm, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, III, Stockholm, 1937, *passim*; Woolley, *Excavations at al Mina*, in *JHS*, 1838, *op. cit.*, p. 26–30; *E. Gjerstad*, *The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend*, in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III, 1944, p. 107–

123; Id. *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* (*SCE*, IV:2), Stockholm, 1948, p. 428–429; Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, Harmondsworth-Baltimore, 1953, p. 172–173; T. J. Dunbabin, *The Greeks and their Eastern Neighbours*, London, 1957; O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, Paris, 1961, *passim*; J. M. Cook. *The Greeks in Ionia and the East*, New York, 1962; J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, Harmondsworth-Baltimore, 1964 (2nd ed., 1974); N. G. L. Hammond, in *CAH*, rev. ed., II, Chap. XXXVIB; M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, Leidn. 1965, *passim*, partic. p. 58, 69–71, 102, 258; P. J. Riis, *The First Greeks in Phoenicia and their Settlement at Sukas*, in *Ugaritica*, VI, 1969, *op. cit.*, p. 436–439; Forrer, *Der Untergang der Hatti-Reiches*, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*, *passim*, partic. p. 211–212; Riis, *Sukas*, I, 1970, *op. cit.*, p. 137–142, n. 527–564; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa pérée aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine*, Paris, 1974, p. 249–251; C. Baurain, *Kinyras. La fin de l'Age du Bronze à Chypre et la tradition antique*, in *BCH*, CIV, *passim*, partic. p. 289–290.

63 – Other Levantine sites outside Cyprus have yielded some Mycenaean III C:1 pottery, usually in very small or unknown quantities. An exception is Tarsus where the material is fairly abundant, cf. E. French, *A Reassessment of the Mycenaean Pottery at Tarsus*, in *Anatolian Studies*, 25, 1975, p. 53–75, fig. 1–20. To this and to the references given in our report in *Syria*, 1978, p. 282, n. 2, should be added Woolley, *A Forgotten Kingdom*, *op. cit.*, p. 178 (Sabouni); G. F. Swift Jr., *The Pottery of the ʿAmuq Phases K to O, and its Historical Relationships*, Diss., Oriental Institute, Univ. Chicago, Dec. 1958, p. 63–123, 162–178, 211–217, fig. 17–28; r. C. Haines, *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch*, II, Chicago, 1971, table p. 1–2 (sites where phase N is found: Tell el-Judaidah, Chatal Hüyük, Tell Taʿyinat), Bikai, *The Pottery of Tyre*, *op. cit.*, with bowls decorated with a wavy line, and so slightly later than Mycenaean III C:1. In Palestine, it seems that imported (?) Mycenaean III C:1 pottery is present at Beth Shan and local imitations at Ashdod at least, see V. Hankey, *Pottery and Peoples of the Mycenaean III C Period in the Levant*, in *Archéologie au Levant*, 1982, *op. cit.*, p. 167–171, with map. Hankey notes a few Myc III/C type shards from Byblos, and some vases from Minet el-Beida which have been classified as Myc. IIIB/C and early Myc. III C:1 by Furumark: these documents from Minet el-Beida, like the large crater published by Courtois in *Ugaritica*, VII, *op. cit.*, p. 346–350, fig. 54 (1), 54 A–C, as well as other pieces from Ras Shamra, p. 332–333, fig. 46, probably illustrate a very late phase of Mycenaean III B insensibly merging into Mycenaean III C:1.

64 – Cf. S. Iakovidis, *Perati, The Necropolis* (in Greek), Athens, 1969–1970, *passim*; M. R. Popham and L. H. Sackett (eds), *Excavations at Lefkandi, 1964–1966*, London, 1968, *passim*.

65 – On the evidence from the Greek area for links with the Near East, see Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, *op. cit.*, p. 58–60, cf. n. 66 below. For Greek material in the Levant, see above, p. n. 60.

66 – A similar view is exposed by H. W. Catling, concerning Cyprus, in *CAH*, rev. ed., II, 1966, Chap. XXIIb, p. 72–73. On the contrary, Boardman, *op. cit.*, p. 58–60, sees «a complete break in the continuity of Greek occupation» in Cilicia and, in the commercial contacts between the Near East and« one part of the Greek world» only (Crete), a tenuous link in the Dark Ages, after which« it was to the same areas and cities that the Greeks returned ... to found new settlements or open new markets» .

67 – Cf. n. 63, above. The Myc. III C type pottery of the ʿAmuq, locally made, reflects a phase of Myc. III C later than the bowls with antithetic spirals of Ras Ibn Hani. It gives one more indication of continued contacts between the Mycenaean world (Cyprus) and the Levant in the second half of the XIIth cent. and the first half of the XIth. We are greatly indebted to Dr. A. Bounni and to Mr. M. Maqdissi for communication of a copy of Dr. Swift's dissertation on the pottery of ʿAmuq.

68 – On Saphon and Ba^cal Saphon, see discussion and literature in A. Caquot, M. Sznycer, A. Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques*, I, *Mythes et légendes*, Paris, 1974, p. 80–83.

69 – Cf. for ex. P. Lavedan, *Dictionnaire illustré de la mythologie et des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris, 1931, *s. v. Apollon*, p. 74,77, fig. 69, 71.

70 – Cf. the lyre-player associated with animals. See, in particular, the jug with strainer spout from Megiddo (note the horse), G. Loud, *Megiddo*, II, *Seasons of 1935–1939* (OIP, LXII), Chicago, 1948, n. a 710, Level VI A, pl. 76/1 and 142/20, and a calathos from Palaipaphos in Cyprus, cf. V. Karageorghis, *An early XIth century B. C. Tomb from Palaipaphos*, in *RDAC*, 1967, p. 17–18, pl. I. On these vases, in connection with Philistine, Cypriote and North Syrian Early Iron Age Pictorial style pottery, cf. J. Lagarce, *Note sur les rapports entre Chypre et les Philistins . . .* , in *Proceedings of the IIIrd Intern. Colloq. on Aegean Prehist.*, *op. cit.*, forthcoming, and our report on the fourth season at Ras Ibn Hani, in *Syria*, 1981, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Related representations appear in the earlier glyptic of the Iron Age in the Levant. The iconography of the seals of the « Lyre-Player Group » (cf. E. Porada, *A Lyre-Player from Tarsus and his Relations*, in *The Aegean and the Near East*, *Studies presented to H. Goldman*, New York, 1956, p. 185 sq., and G. Buchnert and J. Boardman, *Seals from Ischia and the Lyre-Player Group*, in *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, 81, 1966, p. 1–62) could have been developed from such early models.

71 – This connection of Mopsos with the Danunim is particularly interesting since, according to an above mentioned early Greek tradition (Xanthos), Mopsos died in Askalon. It has been rather convincingly suggested that the Danites, who, originally, were not one of the tribes of Israel, and who were active on ships, were descendants of the Denyens, cf. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples*, *op. cit.*, p. 163–164.

72 – See Baurain, *Kinyras*, *op. cit.*, p. 303, with n. 135, for the suggestion that Kinyras' talents can be related to the ox-hide copper ingots of the Late Bronze Age and for Kinyras' inventions. In the list given by Pliny the Elder, all these inventions concern metallurgy and mining (for the « tiles» see Baurain, in *Antiquité Classique*, 50, 1980); this could have been questioned for the lever, but the mould for ox-hide ingots recently discovered in Ras Ibn Hani (cf. our report in *CRAI*, 1983, p. 277–285, fig. 15) shows that the lever was an essential tool of the ingot-casters.

73 – The occurrences of the jug with strainer spout known to us are listed in J. Lagarce, in *Alasia*, I, *op. cit.*, p. 403, and *Note sur les rapports entre Chypre et les Philistins*, *op. cit.*, *forthcoming*; *see also* the Ras Ibn Hani report in *Syria*, 1979, *op. cit.*, p. 257, n. 1.

74 – On this ware, see *ibid.*, p. 252–254. In the XIth cent. level of square X 67, it is scanty and greatly debased, cf. *Syria*, 1981, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

75 – For the later developments of Early Iron Age pottery at Ras Ibn Hani, cf. *Syria*, 1981 p. 258–271, fig. 24–33, and J. Lagarce, *Rapports de Ras Ibn Hani avec la Phénicie et la Méditerranée orientale à l'Age du Fer*, dans *Atti del I° Congr. Intern. di Studi Fenici e Punici*, Rome, 1983, p. 223–226, pl. I–VII.

List and Legends of Figures

Fig. 1. – Funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu: the sea battle against the Sea Peoples.

Fig. 2. – Funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu: the land battle against the Sea Peoples.

Fig. 3. – Map showing the sites mentioned in the text (in small: sites where Mycenaean III C:1 type or Philistine pottery is present, The contours are borrowed from F. Stubbings, *Myc. Pott. in the Levant*).

Fig. 4. – Ras Ibn Hani. Part of the Early Iron Age settlement showing three building phases.

Fig. 5. – Ras Ibn Hani. Locally made craters of Myc. III C:1 type with antithetic spirals.

Fig. 6. – Myc. III B crater with antithetic spirals from Parosh Greece (*BCH*, 1978, p. 736, fig. 196).

Fig. 7. – Myc. III B crater with running spirals from Enkomi (Buchholz-Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkpyros*, n° 1645).

Fig. 8. – Myc. III C:1 bowl with anthetic spirals from Tiryns, Greece (*BCH*, 1978, p. 667, fig. 61).

Fig. 9. – Philistine pottery: crater from Askalon (Amiran, *Ancient Pottery from the Holy Land*, 1969, phot. 269).

Fig. 10. – Philistine pottery: jug with strainer spout from Beth-Shemesh (Amiran, 1969, phot. 272).

Fig. 11. – Philistine pottery: stirrup-jar from Beth-Shemesh (Amiran, 1969, phot. 270).

Fig. 12. – Ras Ibn Hani. Antithetic spirals and filling motives on Myc. III C:1 type bowls and craters.

Fig. 13. – Ras Ibn Hani. Drawing of fragmentary crater of fig. 12 A.

Fig. 14. – Ras Ibn Hani. Imported pottery: Myc. III C:1 (B,G), Proto White Painted and White Painted I pottery (A, C–F, H–J,L) from Cyprus (?) and two Early Greek sherds (K,M).

Fig. 15. – Ras Ibn Hani. Various uses of wavy line decoration on Early Iron Age pottery (XIIth–XIth cent.).

Fig. 16. – Ras Ibn Hani. Local bowl with wavy line decoration similar to Cypriote Proto White Painted ware.

Fig. 17. – Ras Ibn Hani. Local crater with wavy line decoration (early XIth cent.).

Fig. 18. – Ras Ibn Hani. Wavy line decoration on closed shapes.

Fig. 19. – Ras Ibn Hani. Top of imported Greek stirrup–vase (probably XIth cent.).

Fig. 20. – Ras Ibn Hani. Some imported Archaic Greek pottery: East Greek crater and « Ionian » cup.

Fig. 21. – Proto White Painted calathos from Palaipaphos (early XIth cent.) (Buchholz–Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkyäros*, n° 1651).

Fig. 22. – Jug with strainer spout from Megiddo (early XIth cent.) (G. Loud, *Megiddo*, II, 1948, pl. 76, 1. Amiran, 1969, phot. 273).

Fig. 23. – Ras Ibn Hani. Rectilinear decoration on XIIth–XIth cent. pottery.

Fig. 24. – Ras Ibn Hani. Concentric semi–circles and spiral with double tail on Myc.III C:1 type pottery and derived types (monochrome decoration).

Fig. 25. – Ras Ibn Hani. Pottery with bichrome decoration of the XIIth cent.

Fig. 26. – Myc. III C:1 jug with strainer spout from Cyprus (Buchholz–Karageorghis, *Altägäis und Altkyäros*, n. 1646).

Fig. 27. – Ras Ibn Hani. Bichrome white–coated ware of different stages (XIIth and XIth cent.).

Fig. 28. – Ras Ibn Hani. Local crater with bichrome decoration (XIth cent.).

Oswald Loretz
University of Mvnster, BRD

The Ancient Syro-Palestinian Institution of the marziḫu "Thiasos, Symposium" According to the Ugaritic Text KTU 1.114

The very ancient Syro–Palestinian institution of the marziḫu[1] is well known and attested in the sources from Palymra, the Nabatean texts and in late Jewish scriptures[2]. Also two passages in the Bible speak about it. In Jeremia 16,5 the marziḫu is connected with the burial of the dead and in Amos 6,4–7 we get a vivid description of the marziḫu. Music and drinking of wine was according to Amos 6,4–7 most essential to the people involved in it. We are now in the happy possession of one Ugaritic text, which describes a marziḫu more in detail than all other sources. The Text KTU 1.114 [3] shows at the same time, that the marziḫu is a very famous institution of the whole Syro–Palestinian area.

Contrary to all other sources the alphabetie Text KTU 1.114 is the one that describes the marziḫu of the gods. Since its publication a decade ago this variously named text has attracted wide scholarly interest and spawned numerous studies[4]. This text implies a close connection between the heavenly symposion portrayed in our text and the terrestrial marziḫu feast celebrated, as we know, under the aegis and in the name of a city deity

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1. Cf. AHw., S. 617 : marza'u; CAD M/1, S. 321 : marzi'u. marzihu corresponds to Hebrew marzeaḥ or Ugaritic mrzḥ.

2. O. EiBfeldt, Kultvereine in Ugarit, Kleine Schriften 5, 1973, 118–126; id., Neue Belege für nabatäische Kultgenossenschaften, Kleine Schriften 5, 1973, 127–135; id " mrzḥ. und mrzḥ' » « Kultmahlgenossenschaft » im spätjüdischen Schrifttum, Kleine Schriften 5, 1973, 136–142; J.T. Milik, Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, TyrI) et des thiases sémitique à l'époque romaine. Paris 1972, p. 159. 221 sq.

3. KTU = M. Dietrich – O. Loretz – J. Sanmartin. Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit. Neukirchen–Vluyn 1976.

4. Cf. B. Margalit, The Ugaritic Feast of of the Drunken Gods : Another Look at RS 24.258 (KTU) a. 114), Maarav 2/1, 1979/80, 65–120; K.J. Cathcart :–W.G.E.:Watson,:Weathering a Wake: A Cure for a Carousal. A revised translation of Ugaritica V text 1, Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association, 4, 1980, 35–58.

Accordingly, it is reasonable to assume that the riotous activities predicted of the gods in our text are but a thinly veiled mythical projection of an earthly version. El may well be the divine counterpart of the "chief of the marziḫu" (rb mrzḫ) who places his residence at the disposal of the mrzh membership.

This aspect of the text as a mythical reflex of the sociohistorical reality known as marziḫu imparts to it a lasting importance.

The Text KTU 1.114 is divided into two parts. The first part consists of a vivid description of a marzeaḥ and the second concluding part is a "medical" portion preserved on the reverse side of the tablet. The prescription calls for a medical treatment of a sick person. We are dealing with a case of delirium tremens or a case of intoxication. Anyway the combined mythical and medical parts contitute a solid unit. The text follows thus a very old tradition uttered in Mesopotamian literature.

Let's finally have a look at the text itself:

KTU 1.114 (RS 1 24.258))

[1]il b dḫ bth mṣdṣd b qrb [2]hklh	El sacrifices in his House, gives to eat within his Palace.
ṣḥ l qṣ ilm	He invites the gods to the carving:
tlḥmn [3]ilm w tštn tštn yn ᶜd šbᶜ [4] trṯ ᶜd škr	"Eat, o gods, and drink, drink wine to satiety, must to drunkenness.
yᶜdb yrḫ [5]gbh km klb yqtqt tḥt [6]ṯlḥnt	Yarih grippd his piece of meat like a dog, he tears it asunder under the tables.
il d ydᶜnn [7] yᶜdb lḥm d mṣd lh	The god favorable to him, offered him food from the sacred meal,
w d l ydᶜnn [8]ylmn ḥṯm b qr tḥt ṯlḥn	but the god unfavorable to him, hit him with a stick while he was under the table.
[9] ᶜṯtrt w ᶜnt ymǵy	He, Yarih. goes over to Athtart and Anat.
[10] ᶜttrt tᶜdb nšb lh [11]w ᶜnt ktp (Erasure)	Aṯhtart served him a haunch and Anat a shoulder–cut of meat...

bhm yg^{c}r ṯǵr [12] bt il	The doorman of El's house reproves them:
h!n lm klb t^{c}dbn [13] nšb l inr t^{c}dbn ktp	"Look, you are serving a haunch to a dog, to a cur you are serving a shouldercut of meat!"
[14]b il abh g^{c}r	He reproves his father El:
yṯb il w l [15]aṯr [bnh]	"El is presiding in his symposion and does not control his sons!"
il yṯb b mrzḥh [16]yšt [y]n ^{c}d šb^c trt ^{c}d škr	El is presiding in his marzeah-symposion he drinks wine to satiety must to driunkenness.
[17]il hlk l bth yštql [18]l ḥzrh	(Then) El went to his house, he proceeded to his court.
y^{c}msnn ḥkmn [19]w šnm w ngšnn hby [20]b^{c}l qrnm w ḏnb ylšn [21]b ḫirh w ṯnth	(The gods) Hkmn and Šnm supported him, where upon Hby, the one with two horns and a tail approached him, he made him dirty with his own excrement and urine.
ql il km mt il [22]k yrdm arṣ	El collapsed like a dead-man, El (collapsed) as one descending to Hades.
^{c}nt [23]w ^{c}ṯtrt tṣdn . . . . [28]km trpa hn n^{c}r	Anat and Aṯhtart roamed around, ...
[29]d yšt l lṣbh ḥṣ ^{c}rk lb [30]w riš pqq w šrh [31]yšt aḥdh dm zt ḫrpnt	put on his mouth ... heart and head, breast and abdomen. Together with this, let him drink new olive-oil.

Here as elsewhere in Ugaritic tradition, the superannuated El is the nominal head of the divine pantheon. The feast takes place in his house and it is he who summons the deities to dine. But El is portrayed here and throu-

ghout Ugaritic epic as a somewhat inept figure who retains his authority by virtue of the respect for his age and parental status. The slighting of El is evident by the anonymous doorman's rebuke which chides El for his inability to control the mischief wrought by his children.

Besides the drunken El, the doglike behaviour of the Moongod and the devil Hby there are Athtart and Anat. It's a pity that the broken text does not give us any information about their doings.

The marzeah ends with a carousel, a Katzenjammer. At the end of a good and long symposion or banquet there is mostly indigestion and intoxication.

The alphabetic text KTU 1.114 gives us additional information about the marzihu and should be read together with Amos, 6,4-6:

"Woe to those who lie upon beds of ivory,

and stretch themselves upon their couches,

and eat lambs from the flock,

and calves from the midst of the stall;

who sing idle songs to the sound of the harp,

(and like David invent for themselves instruments of music;)[5]

who drink wine in bowls,

and anoint themselves with the finest oils.

(Amos 6,4–6)[6]

The projection of a Syro–Palestinian marzihu into heavenly regions in KTU 1.114 informs us in the special way of a bella manzogna, that El, father of gods and mankind, would not resist the temptations of a marzihu. The inhabitants of Syria–Palestine and El were agreed upon this.

5. Later addition.

6. The word mrzh is mentioned in Amos 6,7

D. Touzalin

France

Palestine in written sources:

The contribution of the Mari texts.

As far back as one can go, Palestine always appeared to have been an important center for the evolution of humanity. Along the centuries the region had known diverse fortunes and a more or less important human occupancy; but the civilization developed there always proved to be brillant and original. Archaeological sources, written documents–hieroglyphic as well as cuneiform ones – tend to prove the prosperety of this area. Originated from Palestine or from the surrounding kingdoms and countries, they illustrate quite well what was then the situation at a given time and the type of relations these people entertained in between each others.

We shall take the evidence of the Mari tablets; and leaving aside the Amorite problem already studied by many scholars, we shall try to discover which kind of connections, Mari, a city of Northern Mesopotamia, could have had with the Palestinian cities during the nineteenth and the eighteenth centuries B. C.

By that time the control of the Egyptian dynasties over Palestine and the Phoenician coast had weakened a lot, even diseappearing from most parts of Northern Palestine – and the Mari archive never mentions either the name of the Egyptian empire nor any kind of relatioship with it; then the Amorite kingdoms of Northern and central Syria could extend their influence over this area. The most important one was the one of Jamḫad whose capital was Halab. This kingdom was tied dynastically but also through its Amorite population, and diplomatic and commercial relations with northern and central Mesopotamia as well. In that respect, the Mari archive mentions Syrian and Jamḫadean centers together with Palestinian ones.

In our documentation – the published Mari texts – Palestine is cited in only seven tablets* which are administrative documents and letters[1]. They are all dated from the reign of Zimri–Lim[2] except one which belongs to the archive of his predecessor Jasmah–Addu[3].

Four Palestinian place – names are represented in these tablets: Hasura which is Hazor, Layisum which is Laish–Dan, Muzunnum of uncertain identification and Kinahnum which refers to the country of Canaan, together with Syrian and Mesopotamian cities of which the most important are: Halab, Qatna, Ugarit and Mari, Babylon, Eshnunna, Ekllatum, Carkemis[4]. They are mainly involved in messengers and mercenaries business as well as trading affairs[5].

Three tablets concern the messengers and allow us to follow the main roads from the Mediterananean coast until central Mesopotamia. The documents unfortunately don't tell us anything about the business of these people. They were messengers – maru šipri – either going for diplomatic or commercial affairs from Mesopotamia to Palestine or vice – versa. Mari was then a stopping place. By its geographical position, Mari was a real « plaque tournante » for the Ancient Near East. From there, roads were leading to the north towards Subat – Enlil and Kanis, to the east towards Assur, Nineveh and Susarra and finally to the west towards Halab, Qatna and Hasura.

In the texts themselves, it is clearly said that these messengers were in transit: *maru šipri etiqtum*[6] but it seems that there had been a certain effective regulation about them; in a letter Bahdi – Lim, who was the prefect of Mari under the reign of Zimri – Lim, was asking his king if he could let them go or not[7]. A real system was establihed in Mari: Merchants, messengers had to declare whatever they had and depending on the goods they were carrying, they even had to paytaxes. Messengers were also sometimes searched, depending on the quality of the relations Mari was entertaining with the country from where they were coming, in case they will have carried any infortion about political or military affairs[8].

They were normally announced in advance so that everything could be arranged for them, gathering in Mari and then going to the Mediterranean coast. Coming from places as various as Babylon, Eshnunna, Ekallatum, Arrapha and Karana, Mari was a meeting point from where they were heading to Palestine, Halab and Qatna being the main and necessary stopping points. It seems that there had been no roads going directly from Mari to the Palestinian coast, through the Syrian desert, maybe because it was too difficult or too dangerous: lots of bedouins, mercenaries and even robbers were wandering in this area and lots of Mari letters are relating stories about people being robbed, illtreated and even killed for some few goods they were carrying[9].

Most of the time, these messengers were even accompanied by an es-

cort[10], whose duty was to look after them and protect them in case of any need. In the tablet which refers to such a practice, the messengers are accomplishing the opposite travel of the one described before.

Coming from Hasura and Qatna, some of them are supposed to stop in Mari, while some others, also accompanied by these *alik idi* – escort people – continue towards Babylon. Once more these people had been travelling in a group, obviously for security reasons. Among these people, only the escort men are coming either from Hasura or from Qatna, certainly because they were supposed to know the Palestinian and Syrian area pretty well, as well as the languages spoken there and the habits of the people wandering about in that same region. The messengers are obviously coming back from a certain mission: some of them have to give a report to Zimri – Lim; they may be people from Mari, while it is clearly mentioned that the others are Babylonians. Babylon could have had in Hasura a center where diplomatic and commercial affairs were gathered: it is clearly said in that tablet[11] that these Babylonian messengers had been living in Hasura for a long time[12] and it seems that lots of Babylonian messengers passing by Mari were then heading to the Palestinian area. It could have been the some thing for Mari which as we shall see later on was responsible for a good part of the trade between Babylonia and the Mediteranean coast.

These messengers were also supposed to benefit from a special treatment on behalf of the officials of the cities where they were staying for a while or from where they were originated. A Mari document of administrative type refers to this kind of process [13]. The *maru šipri*, when they were foreigners were allowed to benefit from certain arrangements during their stay and also from food allowances.

In our document, they are receiving sheep meat – *šer malaku*, word which refers to a certain part of the animal, which could be the thigh Each one of them receives the same amount, that is one piece each, daily during three days. The text gives us a detail of the allowances for the first day mentioning the home-land of each person, one being from Hasura, but without saying that they are messengers. We have to understand it from the rest of the text, when for the two other days, the scribe wrote the same total amount as the one given the first day but only specifying that it is for the messengers – maru šipri [14] – as a whole. Unfortunately the tablet does not state the purpose of the visit of such a number of messengers, nor in which direction they were supposed to continue afterwards. They were coming from various horizons: Hasura, Babylon, Jamhad, Carkemis, Imar, Eshnunna and places not yet well located: Eluhut, Azuhinum, and Nihriya[15].

No doubt Hasura was an important Palestinian center during the reign of Zimri – Lim at least. It is the only Palestinian city which is concerned with messenger business. It was surely the essential center of Northern Palestine as far as business and diplomacy were concerned. However according to our documentation, it seems that the messengers were mainly people from the Amorite kingdoms of Mesopotamia, going to and coming from Palestine.

As a matter of fact, we have only two mentions of Hazorean people in Mari – but it could be only because of the chances of the finds. However it is also right that these Amorite kingdoms had more interest in going there, at least for trading purposes as we shall see later on.

The Mediterrean coast and Palestine were known as being a rich and flourishing region. Among our documentation, three tablets concern commercial exchanges between Palestinian cities, Mari and other Mesopotamian centers. Tin is a main concern in these trading affairs. It is very well attested that Mari was an important center on the tin–trade–road going from Elam until the Mediterranean coast. Tin was stocked in Mari and then redistributed. Hasura is the place which appears the most frequently in these exchanges. All these operations are registered on simple administrative documents, mentioning the date, the name of the cities or the persons receiving the goods and the name of the controller. A text which is unfortunately damaged[16] mentions such tin transactions.

During the reign of Zimri – Lim, there were trading agents specializing in the tin – traders like these Jatar – Addu, Sadi – Addu or Darim–Bahli for the Mari kingdom or Kayaya who was an Elamite agent, but none of the Palestinian counterparts is known until now. Apparently these people were going by themselves to deliver tin to Syrian and Palestinian places since the text states that there had been only one trip–*harran A. DU. I. KAM. MA* [17] – In that case, tin had been delivered to Hasura and Halab to the king himself. This tablet is broken, thus we cannot know if that was a large – scale transaction or not.

However our documentation brings us the evidence of the scope of the business, and of the frequency of the relations between Mari and Hasura [18]. It is a very important document, since beside Hasura, two other Palestinian centers are mentioned: Layisum and Muzunnum. Tin is counted in Mari, partly coming from a gift on behalf of Hammurapi, king of Babylon and gift or maybe in fact some kind of taxes from two commercial agents, Jatar – Addu – the same personnage that the one who was concerned in the

previous document – and Ishi–Dagan[19], partly from a delivery of Seplarpak, king of Ansan. It is interesting to note that apparently only the last had been sent to Mari, the two precious ones being deposed in Halab and Ugarit. Accounts done, tin is redistributed among different personalities, the most important ones being the royal family of Halab and the king of Hasura. Each member of the royal family receives a certain amount–remember that they were dynastically connected with the king of Mari through his wife – Sibtu – Jarim – Lim a real large part: 9 talents 27 minas and 8 shekels of tin[20], then his wife Gasera, his son Hammurapi and some officials of his palace.

There follow the attributions to people living in Palestinian places. The first one, Muzunnum[21] is only attested in this text, as far as the Mari archive is, concerned of course. We don't know exactly where this city has to be located, but it is for sure somewhere in the Syro – Palestinian area. It could be related to the biblical Madon, located then a little bit south of Hasura, but there is no real evidence for that. The only fact tending to prove that Muzunnum is rather in the Palestinian area than in the Syrian one, is that the place is mentioned together with two other Palestinian centers: Layisum and Hasura and that the deliveries of tin for Layisum as well as for Muzunnum and Hasura had been checked at the same time, in the same place, Hazazar by a certain Addi – ^{d}UTU, unknown anywhere else. This Sumu – Erah[22] who receives some 10 minas of tin could be the kinglet of Muzunnum. But there is also a commercial agent of the same name mentioned in the Mari archive. He could then be responsible for the tin business in Muzunnum like Waritaldu[23] for Layisum – city which is Laisch – Dan, – located north of Hazor – . Any way it is intersting to note that these two people are getting a lot smaller amount of tin than the kings of other cities, especially Ibni – Addu king of Hasura. The delivery they are receiving is more or less similar to the one of officials from Halab or the one of the man from Kaptara, that is, people who don't have any royal functions.

The king of Qatna, Amud – pi – El receives some tin and then once again, Ibni – Addu, king of Hasura. This last got tin three different times, proof then of the freqent and regular relations between him and Zimri – Lim. The total amount he got was all together one talent and 10 mines.

Finally three other persons: a man from Kapatara which refers to Crete– we know that there were regular exchanges organized with Crete from the Mediterranean coast, mainly via Ugarit and Gulba (Byblos)–, an interpreter: it seems to be logical to be in need of an interpreter for such transactions between people coming from different horizons and speaking different languages. This operation is happening in Ugarit where is also present a third

personnage in whose name Dossin saw a Carian, reading *(a–na) ka – r a – (i)m* – any way, at that time, the presence of a Carian in Ugarit will not have been impossible –, while Sasson and Astour read *Zu – ka – ra – i – (i) m*, being then then an anthroponyme[24]. According to their reading, the *Zu* – Sign seems to be clear.

Owing to this tablet, we can follow the tin – trade – road from Mari to Palestine. Gathered and stocked in Mari, tin was redistributed to Halab, Ugarit, Qatna and Dayisum, Hasura, Muzunnum. From Ugarit then, it was delivered to Kaptara. Mari was therefore acting as an intermediary between Elam and Esunna which was also on that tin – trade – road[25] and the Palestinian centers the most important one being of course Hasura.

There were some other kinds of exchanges in between Mari and Hasura, but the road was going the opposite direction: from Hasura to Halab and Mari[26]. Unfortunately we only have a translation of the text, even though, we can see that Halab was then acting as an intermediary between Palestine and Mari, concerning gold, silver and precious stones. We don't know whether they were raw materials or precious objects, worked out in a special way. Any way, it was raw material, they were certainly not coming from Palestine but maybe from Arabia. From that text, the only evidence we can be sure of is that there were also exchanges from Palestine to Mesopotamia.

Moreover, with this tablet, we have one more witness about the insecurity of the roads by that time. Apparently this man was carrying gold, silver, and precious stones without being escorted and around Imar, he got illtreated and robbed. This resson was sufficient to have most of the people travelling in groups and with an ascort, as has been illustrated by the previous documents.

These robbers and mercenaries are found once mentioned together with people from the Palestinian area: Canaan. This is the only text we have in our documentation dated from Jasmah – Addu's period. It represents the oldest mention we have of Canaan and also the only one in the Mari archive[27]. Some remarks concerning the place where these people are stationed: Rahisum: it is the only mention in the Mari archive. As it is said to be near Jarih, it could be located somewhere in the Balih valley, Jarih-being connected with the Jaminite tribe.

The document reports a military operation between Assyrian troops and some other people, obviously intending to fight the Assyrian domination. These robbers and Canaanites – written *awil ki – na – ah – nu meš* – were surely mercenaries employed by some people in order to satisfy that purpose:

holding the city, Rahisum that the Assyrian troops wanted to control as well. This letter gives no further information concerning the Canaanite people.

Therefore the Mari archive gives us good evidence about the type of relations Mari was entertaining with Palestine. We can notice that only northern Palestine is concerned; the Egyptian influence may be still too strong over the southern part to let the influence of the Syrian Amorite kingdom reack there. Anyway Hasura, which is mentioned in almost all our documentation, was surely the most important Palestinian center. No doubt then that Mari will have exchanges with this city. Mari, being the « plaque tournante» for the Ancient Near East, was getting a large benefit from these exchanges, from Elam, central and northern Mesopotamia until the Mediterranean coast and Palestine. Its economy was flourishing and the splendor of its palace during Zimri – Lim's reign. A text even mentions the story of the representatative of the king of Ugarit who once came to Mari just to visit that palace and give then report to his king. Through these commercial and diplomatic transactions, cultural exchanges were also taking place and one can feel some Mesopotamian influences until the Palestinian area. Archaeology brings to light good evidence of it through pottery objects and palace architecture. However in Palestine was already developped a civilization, usually called Canaanite, characterized by a spccial style in arts and also the predominance of Semitic dialects of Canaanite type, and even though one could feel influences of foreign origins, this civilization knew how to keep its originality and wealth.

Notes referring to the text:

* All these texts are fully reproduced in the appendix.

1 - These sources are respectively: ARMT VI, 23 and 78; ARMT VII, 236; ARMT XII, 747; A 1270; A 3552; S 115.

2 – Zimri – Lim, king of Mari, grand – son of Jaggid – Lim, son of Jahdun – Lim, husband of sibtu. reign: 1782 – 1759 B. C.

3 – Jasmah – Addu, vice – roy of Mari, son of Samsi – Addu, king of Assyria, brother of Isme–Dagan predecessor of Zimri – Lim in Mari.

4 – These cities are mentioned in the following texts.

Hasura: ARMT VI. 21; ARMT XII. 747; ARMT VII, 236; ARMT VI. 78;

A 1270; S 115.

Layisum: A 1270

Muzunnum: A 1270

Kinahnum: A 3552

Halab: A 1270, S 115

Qatna: ARMT VI. 23 and 78

Ugarit: A 1270

Mari: ARMT VI 23; A 1270; S 115

Babylon: ARMT VI 23, and 78; ARMT XII. 747: A 1270

Ekallatum: ARMT VI. 23

Carkemis: ARMT VI. 23; ARMT XII. 747

5 – Mainly:

Messengers: ARMT VI. 23 and 78; ARMT XII. 747

Mercenaries: A 3552

Trade: ARMT VII. 236; A 1270; S 155

6 – ARMT VI. 23, l. 19: maru Sipri atiqtum: cf *CAD* E p. 395 sub *etiqtu* « group of travellers in transit » .

7 – ARMT VI. 23, l. 25.

8 – cf ARMT XV, p. 318, sub messages for further references

9 – cf ARMT XV, p. 340, sub vol for examples.

10– ARMT VI. 78, 1. 16, 20, 24.

11– *Alik idi* refers to the escort. They are« The persons assigned to escort diplomats, foreigners and persons in need of surveillance». cf *CAD* IA, p. 343 A.

12– ARMT VI. 78, 1. 14

13– ARMT XII. 747

14– ARMT XII. 747, 1. 28 and 32

15– Cf appendix for possible localization.

16– ARMT VII. 236

17– ARMT VII. 236, 1. 9

18– A 1270

19– G. DOSSIN in« La route de l'etain en Mesopotamie au temps de Zimri – Lim», RA 64, 1970, p. 97 – 106, writes that Jatar – Addu and Ishi – Dagon could be kinglets of some provinces of Ugarit. In fact, according to some other Mari texts, it's clear that these two personnages are merchants or commercial agents, involved among other things with tin trade. cf. for example: ARMT VIII. 45 and 25 for Ishi – Dagan and ARMT VII. 233; XIII. 32; VI. 19; XIII 18, 25, 27. cf. as well. J. Stet *RA* 65, 1971, p. 172.

20– Jarim–Lim got in fact a pretty large amount of tin, the measures of weight being the following: SU: shekel.
MA . NA: mina = 60 *SU* (= 500 grams) GU: talent = 60 *MA . NA*.

21– For some other possible identifications, cf. J. SASSON, *RA* 65, 1971, p. 172; M. C. ASTOUR, *RA* 67, 1973, p. 73 – 74; A. MALAMAT, *IEJ* 21, 1971, p. 34 – 35.
for the identification of Madon, cf. M. WEIPPERT,
die Landnahme der israchitischen stamme in der neueren
wissenschaftlicher Disknssiun, Gottingen, 1976, 145 p.
Madon could be identified with qarn Hattin.

22– Cf. also ARMT VIII. 80, 1. 3; 94, 1. 7. where he is a merchant and M. C. ASTOUR, *RA* 67, 1973, p. 75.

23– According to G. DOSSIN, *RA* 64, 1970, p. 97 – 106; Waritaldu was the king of Layisum and Sumu – Erah, the king of Musunnum.

24– Cf. G. DOSSIN, *RA* 64, 1970, p. 97 v 106; J. SASSON, *RA* 65, 1971, p. 172; MC. ASTOUR, *RA* 67, 1975, p. 73 v 75.

25– From the Mari archive: A 16; *RA* 64, 1970, p. 104 – 106

26– S 115

27– A 3552

The abbreviations used are the ones which normally appear in R. BORGER: *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur* – 1967 – 1975. Leipzig.

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J. SASSON : *RA* 65, 1971, p. 172.

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CAD sub A. E. I. J. D.

A H W sub P. N.

APPENDICES

WRITTEN SOURCES

ARMT VI. 23

(a – na be – lí) – i (a)
(qi – b) í – ma
(um – ma) Ba – aḫ – di – li – im
wara (d) – Ka – a – ma
a – lum Ma – ri^{ki} é – kál – lum ú ḫa – al – ṣú – um (š) a – lim
(K) i – ma ša be – lí u – ua – e – ra – an – ni
(a – na) – k (u) ù Ia – si – im – su – mu – ú a – na Ma – ri^{ki}
(ni) – ik – (š) u – ud – ma e – si – iq – ti di – ši – im ni – si – iq
a – na e – bu – ri – im ka – ma – sí – im a – ḫu – um ú – ul n (a) – di
(a) s – s (ú) – ur – ri – e – ma be – lí ki – a – am i – qa – ab – bi
(um – ma) – a – mi a – na ka – ma – ás e – bu – ri – im
tr. (a – ḫu – u) m na – di mi – im – ma a – ḫu – um ú – ul na – d (i)
(i – na – an – n) a a – nu – um – (m) a Na – ap – si – E – ra – aḫ wara (d) (be – lí – ia)
(ù mâr ši – i) p – ri ša Is – me – ^{d} da – gan
(a – li – ik i) – di – šu
Rev.(a – na ṣe – er be) – lí – ia aṭ – ṭà – ar – (da) – nu
(x x x mâr š) i – ip – ri e – (x x x)
(x x x x x) – za – am u – ul (x x x)
(ša – ni – tam mâru (me) š ši – ip – ri – im e – te – eq – (t) um
(iš – tu Bâb) ili ^{ki} Èš – nun – na ^{ki} É – kál – la – tim ^{ki}
ka – ra – (n) a – a ^{ki} Qa – ab – ra – a ^{ki}
ù Ar – ra – ap – ḫi – im ^{ki} ša a – na I (a – am) – ḫa – ad ^{ki}
[Q] a – ta – nim ^{ki} Ḫa – ṣú – ra – a $^{(ki)}$ ù x – šu (?) – x x^{ki}
wu – ú – ru i – ka – aš – ša – du – nim
ú – wa – aš – ša – ar a – ka – al – la – šu – nu – ti – i
ú šum – ma mâru (meš) ši – ip – ri iš – tu Ia – am – ha – (a) d^{ki}

a (1 ?) x (x x x) ^{ki} x u kar – ka – mi – is ^{ki}
( ) x ^{ki}
( ) x – ḫi – im ^{ki}
(
tr. (x x x x) x x (
(a – ka – a) la – šu – nu – t (i – i)
(an – ni – tam la an – n) i – tam be – lí pu – ru – sà – (a m)
(li – iš – pu –) ra – a (m)

A mon seigneur
dis ceci.
ainsi parle Baḫdi – Lim
ton serviteur.
La ville de Mari, le palais et le district vont bien.
Comme mon seigneur m'en avait chargé
moi et Iasîm – Sumu, nous sommes arrivés
à Mari et nous avons procédé au partage du pacage
pour rentrer la récolte , il n'y a pas de négligence.
Peut – être bien que mon seigneur parlera
en ces termes: « pour la rentrée de la récolte »
il y a de la négligence» . Il n'y a pas la moindre negligence
tr. Or – ça [maintenant] Napsi – Eraḫ, serviteur de mon seigneur
[et un] messager d'Išme – Dagan,
son [homme d'escorte]
rev. je (les) ai envoyés [à] mon [seigneur]
[. . . . mes]sager . [. . . .]
[. . . .] [ne . . . . .]
[Autre affaire. Des mes]sagers de passage
(venant) de Babylone, Ešnunna, Ekallatum
Karanâ, Qabrâ
et Arrapḫâ, lesquels sont envoyés a Iamḫad
Qatna, Ḫazôr et [.] ,
Vont arriver.

dois – je les laisser aller, dois – je les retenir ?
En outre, si des messagers (venant) de Iamḫad,
[ ] et de Carkemis
[ ]
[ ]
[ ]
tr. [ ]
dois – je les retenir ?
[Ceci ou cela que mon seigneur me [mande]
la décision !

ARMT VI. 78

(a – na) be – lí – ia
(qí) – bí – ma
(um – ma) Ba – a (ḫ – di – L) i – im
(warad – ka – a –) ma
(ṭe$_4$ – ḫi – tum iš – tu Ḫa – ṣú – r) a – a ^{ki}
(ù Qa – ta – nim (ki) ik – šu – d) am
(
(
(wardu (meš) be – l) í – i (a)
tr. (ù awil Ḫa – ṣ) ú – ra – a – ki
(a – li – i) k i – di – (šu – nu
(a –) na ṣe – er be – lí – i (a)
rev. 2 (!) mâru (meš) ši – ip – ri awîl Bâbi (li ^{ki})
ša iš – tu pa – na i – na Ḫa – ṣú – (ra –) a – ^{ki}
wa – aš – bu ù 1 awîl Ḫa – su – ra – a ^{ki}
(a –) li – ik i – di – šu – nu a – na Bâbili ^{ki}
(i –) ti – qú
(l) La – wi – El warad be – lí – ia
(ù Ḫ) a – ab – du – ba – aḫ – la awîl Qa – ta – nim ^{ki}

(a – li –) ik i < di > šu a – na ṣe – er be – lî – ia
(x mâru) (meš) ši – ip – ri awîl Bâbili ^{ki}
tr. (ù 1 awîl) Qa – ta – nim ^{ki}
(a – li –) ik i – di – šu – nu
(a – na Bâ) bili ki i – ti – qú
A mon seigneur
dis ceci.
Ainsi parle Baḫdi – Lim
ton serviteur
Un groupe est arrivé
de Ḫaṣôr et de Qatna
[ ]
[ ]
[serviteur de mon seigneur
[et homme de Ḫazôr,
[leur] homme d'escorte
se rendent chez mon seigneur
Deux messagers babyloniens
qui résident depuis longtemps
a Ḫaṣôr et un homme de Ḫaṣôr,
leur homme d'escorte, sont passes
en direction de Babylone.
Lawi – El, serviteur de mon seigneur
et Ḫabdu – Baḫla, homme de Qatna
son homme d'escorte, (se rendent) chez mon seigneur
[x] messagers babyloniens
et un homme de Qatna
leur homme d'escorte
sont passés en direction de Babylone.

ARMT XII – 747

UDU (ḫá) (šer) ma – la – ku

1 awîl Bâbili (ki)

1 Ḫa – ṣú – ra – yu (ki)

[illegible] Ia – am – ha – du

1 ka – ar – ka – mi – sa – yu !

1 E – lu – uh – ta – yu

1 A – zu – ḫi – na – yu

1 Ni – iḫ – ra – yu

1 I – ma – ru – ú

2 (awîl) NAR (meš)

1 Mu – uš – ta – yu

2 mâru (meš) um – me – ni

1 Eš – nun – n (a) – y (u)?

1 girseqqum x x x x

1 Ḫa – ià (= NI) – su – mu – ú

1 (awîl) sa – gu – ú

1 UDU 8 (šêr) ma – la – ku

rev. [illegible] a – na DUG. UTÚL (ḫà)

2 KUŠ ? a – na (iṣ) PISÁN + AŠ šarrim

1 KUŠ ? gi . IB . BU

1 KUŠ ? ḫi – ir – ṣú

1 a – na (iṣ) MAR. GÍD. DA

2 gur ! – sí – pí ?

3 namḫarti warad – î – lí – šu TIN ?

UD 28 KAM

2 mâru (meš) um – me – ni

2 a – na ú – ku – ul – tim UD 29 KAM

1 8 SI . LÁ mâri (meš) ši – ip – ri

UD 30 KAM

3 (+ x) 2 SI . LÁ é – kál – lim !
naphar 16 šêru (ḫá)

tr.lat. (x x x) (šer) ma – la – ku a – na SI . LÀ
mâru (meš) ši – ip – ri
UD 1 KAM

Petit bétail – Cuisses ?
1 (pour) le Babylonien
1 le Ḫasoréen
1 les gens de Iamḫad
1 1 homme de Carkémis
1 1 homme d'Eluḫut
1 1 homme d'Azuḫinum
1 1 homme de Niḫriya
1 1 homme d'Imâr
2 les chantres
1 1 homme de ?
2 les artisans
1 1 homme d'Ešnunna
1 le girseqqum
1 Haia – Sumû
1 le prêtre
1 mouton 8 cuisses (?)

rev. 2 (moutons) pour les marmites
2 peaux? pour le . . . . du roi
1 peau . . .
1 peau en morceaux :
1 morceau pour le char :
a savoir deux hauberts
3 morceaux recus par Warad – ilišu, le . . .
le 28e ? jour
2 (moutons ?) pour les artisans

2 moutons a engraisser, le 29e ? jour
1 (mouton) 8 (cuisses) : attribution des messagers
le 30e jour
3 (? + x moutons), 2 (cuises) attribution du palais
total: 16 portions
. . . . cuisses (?) pour la subsistance des messagers
le 1er jour.

ARMT VII, 236

(wa) – ar – ka – n (u) – u (m)
(i – n) a 2 manê kaspim ša a – na š (i) – i (m x x x anâkim)
ša – a – na Ia – tar – ᵈaddu in – n (a – a) d – nu
ŠÁ . BA 1 mana anakum a – na bi – la – at NÍG. GAL [?]
ka – ni – ik šarrim
(x +) 10 mana anâkum a – na Ḫa – ṣú – ra – a ki GÍR
ša – di – ᵈAddu
19 mana 2 šiqil anâkum a – na Ia – ri – im – Li – im
GÍR La – ri – im – Ba – aḫ – li
(ḫar) rân (= KASK) AL. A. DU. 1. KAM – MA
(i – na x) li – i anâkim ša ka – a – ia – a – ia ub – la – am
(a – na I) a – ri – im – Li – im
. . . .

Ultérieurement
qui ont été données à Iater – Addu
il y a eu une mine d'étain pour le port ? du stock ?
sous sceau du roi,
[X +] 10 mines d'etain pour Ḫašôr,
(sous) le contrôle de Šadî – Addu
19 mines 2 sicles d'étain pour Iarim – Lim
sous contrôle de Larim – Baḫli
voyage fait une premiere fois seulement
[sur x bar]res de plomb que Kayaya a apportées,
( ) pour Iamîr – Lim

A 1270

14 GU 30 MA . NA . AN . NA
ša iš – tu Ma – ri ^{ki}
i GU AN . NA (s) a Ḫa – am – mu – ra – pi šar Babil (i ^{ki})
u – ša – bi – lam – i – na Ḫa – l (a) – ab ^{ki}
20 MA . NA AN . NA sa MU . (D) U še – ep – la – ar – pa – ak
20 MA . NA AN . NA ša qi – iš – ti Iš – ḫi – ^{d}da – gan
u Ia – tar – ^{d}Addu
i – na U – ga – ri – tim ^{ki}
Šu – nigin 16 GU 10 MA . NA AN . NA ri – is ma – ku – ri – im
Ia šA . BA 11/2 3 MA . NA AN . NA a – na Ša – am – ši – a – du
9 GU i27 1/2 MA. NA 8 ŠU AN . NA
Ia – ri – im – Li – im
1 GU 1/2 MA . NA 7 SU AN . NA I ^{sinnišat} go – se – ra
30 MA . NA AN . NA ḪA – am – mu – ra – pi
16 2/3 MA . NA AN . NA Ta – ab – ba – la – ti
8 MA . NA AN . NA ^{d}Sin – a – bu – su
i – na Ḫ (a – la – a) b^{ki}
10 MA . NA AN . N (A) Su – mu – e – ra – ah
i – na Mu – zu – un – ni – im^{ki}
8 1/3 MA . NA AN . NA Wa – ri – ta – al – du
i – na La – yi – si – im^{ki}
30 MA . NA AN . NA Ib – ni – ^{d}addu (s) ar Ḫa – (s) u – ra – a^{ki}
GIR Ad – d (i) – ^{d} (x) i – na Ha – Za – za – ar ^{ki}
i – na A. DU. 1. (KA) M. MA
20 MA . NA A (N . NA) A – mu – ud – (p) i – EL
20 MA . N (A) AN . NA Ib – ni – ^{d}Addu
(i – na A.) DU . 2. KAM . MA
(x M) A . NA AN . NA a – na – na Kap – la – ra – i – im
1 (MA . N) N AN . NA a – na ^{awil} La – ar – ga – ma – an – nim
(x MA . NA AN . NA a – na) Ka – ra – i – i – (i) m
(i – na U – g) a – (r) i – tim ^{ki}

20 ? (MA . NA AN . NA) (I) b – ni – ^{d}Addu i – na A. DU . 3 KAM . MA
( ) x Zi – (i) m?
(
35. (
V. i – na (
3 GU AN . NA (
i – na Dur ^{ki} – (S) u – mu – e – p (u – u) h ^{ki}
14 talents 30 mines d'etain
qui (proviennent) de Mari
1 talent d'etain que Hammurabi, roi de Bebylone
a envoye (depose) a Halab
5. 20 mines d'etain (provenant) de l'envoi de Salarpat
20 mines d'etain (provenant) du cadeau d'Ishi – dagan
et de Iatar – Addu
(deposess a) Ogarit
total : 14 talents et 10 mines d'etain, propriete du tresor
10. La – dessus, 11 2/3 de mines d'etain pour Samsi – Adu
9 talents et 27 mines 8 sicles d'etain
(pour) Iarim – Lim
1 talent 1 2 mines (et) 7 sicles d'etain (pour) dame Gasera
30 mines d'etain (pour) Hammurabi
15. 16 2/3 mines d'etain (pour) Tab – balati
8 mines d'etain (pour) Sin – abusu
a Halab
rev. 10 mines d'etain (pour) Sumu – Brah
a Muzunnum
21. 8 1/3 mines d'etain (pour) Waritaldu
a Layis
30 mines d'etain (pour) Ibni – Addu, roi de Hasura
Responsable: Add (i –) a Hazazar
pour la 1^{ere} fois.
25. 20 mines d'etain (pour) Amud – pi – el

20 mines d'etain (pour) Ibni – Addu
(pour) la 2eme fois
10 mines d'etain pour le Caphtorite
1 (+ x mines) d'etain pour l'interprete
x mines d'etain au Carien (?)
a Ugarit
20 mines d'etain a Ibni – Addu pour la $3^{ème}$ fois
. . . . . . (Iarim –) Lim
(
(
tr. a (
2 talents d'etain (
a Dur – Sumu – epuh

S 115

. . .« Le roi d'Alep, Iarim – Lim, beau – pere de Zimri – Lim, lui avait annonce l'arrive prochaine d'un personnage qui devait lui apporter de Hazor de l'or, de l'argent et des pierres precieuses. Le roi de Mari repond que le personnage en question est bien arrive a Mari, mais les mains vides. A son passage a Imar, on l'a arrete, malmene et on lui a pris tout ce qu'il portait, y compris le sceau qu'il avait achete. Le roi dit avoir reçu des informations nouvelles a ce sujet mais le sens des lignes qui suivent, mal conservees, est difficile a saisir» . . .

A 3552

(a – n) a be – lí – i (a)
qi – b (i) – (m) a
um – ma M (u – u) t – bi – si – ir
warad – ka – a – (m) a
i – na a – lim^{ki} B (i) – (i) r – ba – a^{ki}
ša iš – tu pa – n (a) a – na ṣe – er be – lí – ia aš – ta – na – pa – ra – am
a – na pa – an R (a – h) i – si – im^{ki} qu – ur – (r) u – ub

u i – na i – di – im ša (a – lim)
ap – pa – li – is – ma 2 li – im
u Ha – lu – sa – mu – uh a – (na
a – na a – lim sa – a – t (u
i – na sa – al – (
(
rev. (
x (
a – yu – um – m (a
i – mu – ut a – yu – (um – ma
a – yu – um – ma pa – ni – șu iḫ – ri (
i – na mu – uḫ – ḫi KA di – im – tim (
^{awil} mu – un – na – ab – tu ^{meš} te_4 – ma – am an – ni – i (m
u Mu – us – su – ki – in babam ! ta – tar – ha – mu u – we – di
immeru (UDU) – šu – ma a – na pu – hi – su x is – sa – ak – nu
^{awil} ha – ab – ba – tum u ^{awil} ki – na – ah – nu (m) ^{meš}
i – na Ra – hi – si – im^{ki} – ma ua – si – ib
ni – nu u su – nu ni – it – ta – at – ta – al
ṣa – bu – um sa – lim li – ib – bi be – li – ia
a – na sa – bi – su la – a i – na – aḫ – ḫi – id
tr. waraḫ ki – nu – nim UD 14 KAM issuḫ (BA . ZAL) – ma
(tu) p – pa – am an – ne – em a – na ṣe – er be – lí – ia (u) – ša – bi – lam

A mon seigneur
dis ceci
Ainsi parle Mut – bisir
ton serviteur
Dans la ville de Birba (?)
dont, auparavant, j'ai écrit a maintes reprises a mon seigneur
face a Rahisum, nous sommes installes
Or la ville de Iarih n'est que ruines:
elle est pesche de 10 cordes de distance de Rahisum

D'autre part j'ai pu observer
les côtes de la ville et deux milles
et Halu – Samuh vers . . .
vers cette ville . . .
au 3e jour . . .
(
rev. (
(
qui . . .
est mort ? qui . . . ?
qui sa face . . . ?
au sommet de l'ouverture de la tour . . .
des fuyard cette nouvelle . . .
Et Mussukin« a fait connaître» la porte a Iatar – Hamu
d'autre part, ses moutons pour son echange ont ete proposes.
Des brigands et des Cananeens
resident a Rahisum – même
Nous et eux, nous nous observons
Les soldats vont bien. Que le cœur de mon seigneur
ne s'inquiete pas au sujet de ses soldats
Mois de kinunum, le 14e jour finissant
La presente tablette a mon seigneur
j'ai fait porter.

INDICES

Index of Personal Names found in our documentation.

Addi – dUTU : (pas de precision)

Amud – pi – El : King of Qatna

Baḫdi – Lim : Prefect of Mari

Gasera : Wife of Jarim – Lim, king of Ḫalab

Habdu – Baḫla : Messenger of Qatna

Halu – Samuḫ : (without precision)

Hammurapi : king of Babylon

son of Jarim – Lim

Haya – Sumu : King of Slansura

Ibni – Addu : king of Ḫaṣura

Išhi – Dagan : commercial agent

Išme – Dagan : son and successor of Išme – Dagan, king of Assyria

Kayaya : Elamite involved with tin trade

Larim – Baḫli : commercial agent

Laur – El : messenger of Mari

Mussukin : official of Mut v bisir, living in the region of Jarih

Mut – Bisir : troops commandant during Šamši – Addu's time, could have have stayed in service also under Zimri – Lim.

Napsi – Eraḫ : messenger of Zimri – Lim

Samsi – Adu : man living in Halab, may be in the court of Jaum – Lim.

Sin – abusu : person living in Halab

Sumu – Erah : merchant

Sadr – Addu : person involved with tin trade

Seplarpak : king of Ansan

Tab – Balati : Sangum – priest of Jamhad

Warad – ilišu : architect ? : TIM . GAL . One should may be read NAR
instead of YIN, TIM. It could be then a chief
musician NAR . GAL, Known from an unpublished text,
ARMT XVIII, 229. n. 36.

Wari – taldu : person living in Layišum

Jarim – Lim : kind of Ḫalab and of the country of Jamhad, father
of Hammurapi and Šibtu, husband of Gasera.

Jasim – Šumu : SA . DUB . BA

Jatar – Ḫammu : person living in Rahišum

Jatar – Addu : commercial agent

Index of geographical names

Index of the Place – names non precisely identified

Azuhinum : in Northern Mesopotamia, probably in the Habur triangle.

Birba : in the Balih valley ?

Eluhut : in the west part of Northern Mesopotamia

Hazazar : Between Tumip and Alalah according to M. C. ASTOUR, RA 67, 1973, p. 74 – 75.

Ilansura : city of Idamaraz

Nihryia : in the west part of Northern Mesopotamia

Qabra : North of Zab inferior

Rahisum : in Northern Mesopotamia

Yarih : Connected with the Yahinite tride

L. Jakob – Rost

Berlin – G D R

Remarks on a Number of Small Objects From Ancient Megiddo

:actly one hundred years ago, the German Society for the Exploration stine was a most important association for scientific research in the y. In this connection I would like to mention the expedition surveying trict east of the Jordan river, which took place in 1882. But since the shment of the society the intention for archaeological exavations held the first place and consequently a small excavation could be out in 1881 at the slopes of the southeastern and southwestern hills isalem.

me years later another German expedition set out for Palestine, aged by many important vits of information proceeding from the Amarna letters, which had been discovered in 1887. So they began g (1. April 1903) at Tell el-Mutesellim, which is situated east of Long before the beginning of this excavation, the tell was already ed to be the site of ancient Megiddo, and during the work this iton proved to be verified. After the end of the excavations at Tell esallim, towards the end of 1905, one part of the small finds happego to the recently founded Department of Near Eastern Antiquities Royal Museums in Berlin. I do not intend to deal with these early ations at Tell el-Mutesellim, but I think that it may be of some t to you to hear that these finds from Megiddo, preserved in Berlin, ll in good condition.

iis small Megiddo collection includes for example pottery, made of r the so-called Kieselkeramik (faience); stonevessels: tools made of or iron, bone and Kieselkeramik, seals, beads and objects of glass. e quantity of these objects were found in graves and are dated from riod between the 16th century and the last centuries before our era. iost interesting pieces of art were found in a thick layer of ash, ting from the end of the Bronze Age, when the settlement of that eems to have been completely destroyed. This destruction may be :ted with the capture of Megiddo by Scheschonk of Egypt, about 926 our era.

mong the objects of that time we have to mention several therioic vessels (fig. 1). There is one made in the shape or a cowering lion,

holding a small pot between his paws. The lion is made of greenish Kieselkeramik, parts of the body are accentuated with sparingly used black paint.

A second example shows a crouching monkey and is made of dark grey Kieselkeramik. Small patches of dark paint are probably indicating the animal's fur. On top of the monkey's head there is a small outlet, because these vessels are formerly used for preserving oil or sweet scents. Made for the same purpose and of the same material is another vessel, showing a duck (fig. 2) with the outlet situated on its back. Again some details are given by subtle painting, for instance accentuationg the winges.

As far as the representation and the kind of designing is concerned, both lion and monkey depend very clearly on Egyptian traditions. Nevertheless I think that they are not originally Egyptian but home - made Palestinian works of art, originating from Palestinian workshops. This valuation is still more suitable concerning the duck - vessel, because containers of this particular shape had not been used in ancient Egypt. The Egyptian influence can be proved also in quite a number of small finds, made of Kieselkeramik, and we are forced to admit that some of these small objects may be of real Egyptian origin, for instance the so-called Eyes of Horus or the usheptis. They all made of green or turquoise coloured Kieselkeramik.

Megiddo always held a central position in Palestine. The receptivity of the town not only to Egyptian but also to Mesopotamian influence is proved by some cylinder-seals, whose representations remind us of Assyrian prototypes. As an example for the existence also of western, Mediterranian art among the daily utensils at Megiddo we have to mention some very beautiful pots, probably made in Cyprus.

This Cypriotic influence may be also pointed out in a couple of woll preserved candlesticks, made of bronze. Two of them are in the possession of the Deparmtnet of Near Eastern Antiquities in Berlin. The first one is a comparatively simple example in the shape of a tripod. The three legs of the tripod, made of double - bars, are ending in double volutes; some parts are still preserved.

The most important piece of art in the Megiddo collection is the second candlestick (fig. 3). This object had been repeatedly published, 1) but without ever being cleaned. At last the candlestick was thickly covered with abnormal accretions and had to be cleaned completely, in order to guarantee better observation. Owing to this cleaning it is now possible to add some new observations to the well known object; the candlestick was

in the thick layer of ashes of the fourth level, near the southern entrance to the castle of Megiddo. The height of the object runs to 32,8 cm, the diameter of its foot-ring consisting of a double coil to 15,5 cm. Three double bars, raising from the coil, meet in a height of 14 cm. on top of this tripod stands a human figure, playing a musical instrument, which is supposed to be a double flute. The obviously nude figure is about 13 cm high and very roughly made. On its breast there are two crooked nipples, the short legs are compact, the arms rectangularly raised up from the elbow.

The double flute was destroyed by corrosion. So the remains of the musical instrument now look like a beard. A round stick, about 5,4 cm long, is raising up from the head of the figure and ends in three horinzontal blades, which had once supported the basin.

The ends of these blades are vertically perforated and one of the fixing rivets is still preserved. A loop of about 2,5 cm height is situated at the back of the figure's head, connecting it with the just mentioned stick.

After some uncertainty in the definition of this figure's sex, for instance in the first publication of the excavation by Schumacher and Watzinger, the figure is now agreed to be female. Besides the above mentioned nipples there are–after the removal of the corrosion–layer – two more hints, confirming this definition. In spite of the badly scarred surface of the bronze object we are able to notice a clearly scratched triangle on the lower part of the body, characterizing the female sex of the figure. The second point is dealing with the loop at the back of the woman's head. After the cleaning the loop turns out to be a double plait. Because of these two arguments the haif male sex of the figure can be taken for granted.

There is another most interesting observation : the standing coil had been mended at four places. In the course of the using of the candlestick the coil had been broken and a considerable part of it had been lost. While two of these repairs are only bronze clamps clasping the broken parts of the coil, both of the other repairs are of more interest. To mend the double - barred footring the craftsman used a second coil of the same size, but made of three bars, so that now the candlestick has one half of its coil double - barred and the other half made of a three barred ring.

The adjoining parts of the legs of the tripod are all preserved as double bars, and after the cleaning it turns out very clearly that two of the double ranked stays are trimmed into that half of the ring, which is made of three bars.

Repairs dating back to ancient times are relatively seldom but most interesting, for they show not only the skill of the craftsmen or artists but also the attitude of ancient people in regard of their property, and – last not least – the expensiveness of such bronze objects.

1) For instance:

G. Schumacher, Tell el Mutesellim I, Leipzig 1908, S. 85, Abb. 117; C. Watzinger, Tell el Mutesellim II, Leipzig 1929, S. 27f., Abb. 20; Der Alte Orient 30, Leipzig 1931, Taf. XIV,1 ; H. Bossert, Altsyrien, Tubingen 1951, Nr. 1181; H.W. Catling, Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World, Oxford 1964, S. 213, Nr. 56, Taf. 37 : e .

Herbert Donner
Kiel (Germany)

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MOSAIC MAP OF MADABA

The famous mosaic map of Madaba (Jordan) from the 6th century A. D. is one of our main sources for the topography of Roman and Byzantine Palestine west and east of river Jordan and the Dead Sea.[1] The « *Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas* » (German Palestine Exploration Society), which I feel honoured to represent here, restored the map in 1965.[2] A first volume containing plates and photos was published in 1977 by H. Cüppers and by myself.[3] The commentary will follow as soon as possible. As a contribution to this conference I would like to discuss some problems concerning the region east of the rift – valley, as far as represented on the mosaic map, and to explain my approximations or solutions.

1. *Betomarsea, Aia and Tharais*:

Below the symbol of [Χαρ] αχμωβα, i. e. *al-Karak*, we see a building pretty much as the sanctuary of St. Elisha near Jericho, with a central dome flanked by two side vaults, cylindrical in shape.[4] It seems to be surrounded by plants and waters, perhaps indicating the exceptional luxuriance of vegetation in a spot blessed with plenty of water. The inscription reads as follows: Βητομαρσεα ἡ κ(αὶ) Μαιουμας « Betomarsea, also Maiumas». The meaning is clear. Betomarsea is the Greek transcription of Hebrew בֵּית מַרְזֵחַ, in Aramaic בית מרזחא « the house of a cultic congregation called *marzēaḥ*», in Jerem. 16,5 rendered θίασος by the Septuagint.[5] Maiumas was a popular licentious feast, connected with water festivals and symposia, widespread in the ancient Near East and mentioned in Ugaritic, Phoenician, Palmyrenian, Nabataean and Hebrew texts.[6] Its golden age was in the first half of the first millennium A. D. In our inscription it is combined with Betomarsea: one pagan abomination is explained by another one!

But for what reason is this combination represented on the Madaba map? Scholars were never at a loss for an answer. They called attention to Numb. 25,1–5: the Israelites sinned with Midianite women at *Beth–Ba'al-Pe'or*, and this fact was identified by Rabbinic sources with *marzēaḥ*.[7] Therefore the mosaic artist represented it on his map. But this solution

seems unlikely. *Beth–Baᶜal–Peᶜor* was located north of mount *Nebo* in the *Wādī ᶜAyūn Mūsā*[8]; cp. Eusebius, Onomasticon 48,3–5 and 168, 25 – 27. Maybe the exact knowledge was lost in the 6th century A. D., but the mosaic artist ought to have known from the Bible and from Eusebius that it had been near mount *Nebo* and not near *al-Karak*. M. Avi–Yonah[9] took for granted, that the artist rejected this location, being influenced by a Midrashic tradition according to which the tents of the Ammonites and Moabites, in which Israel sinned, stretched for three parasangs from *Beth–Jeshimoth* to *Ṭūr Talgā*, i. e. perhaps *Ǧabal Umm aṭ– Ṭalāğa* near *al–Karak*. This supposition is just as little convincing as R. T. O' Callaghan's idea[10], that the artist could have located the shameful *Beth–Baᶜal–Peᶜor* as far as possible from his home town Madaba. Others considered, because of the faint similarity of the names, the places *Mazraᶜ* or *Ḫirbat al-Bulēda* or even *Bāb aḏ– Ḏrāᶜ* (A. Musil[11] and F. – M. Abel [12]): places which are situated below the last dislocation of the mountain range east of the Dead Sea, being much too far from *al–Karak*.

The artist's locations are correct and trustworthy in general, especially when he had no lack of space. Let us take him at his word and search for Betomarsea in the area where he put it: northwest of *al-Karak*, not too far from the city. We should insist on that principle of interpretation: the locations on the mosaic map are to be taken as correct unless there are strong reasons not to do so. In our case there are no reasons against it, on the contrary. The peculiarity of the symbol representing a building on a ground rich in water and vegetation is every reason to believe that the artist meant a distinct building at a distinct spot: the house of a *marzēaḥ* – congregation, still existing in the 6th century near *al–Karak*, a curiosity in the Christian Byzantine Empire, perhaps the late successor of a former Nabataean *marzeḥā* – congregation. The conditions for the location of Betomarsea according to the mosaic map are as follows: Betomarsea was situated 1. west or northwest of *al–Karak*; 2. one must not go beyond a line on which Aia and Tharais are located, i. e. not beyond *Hirbat ᶜAy* and *al-ᶜIrāq*; 3. one has to pay attention to road communication with *al-Karak*; 4. springs or at least one remarkable spring are to be presumed.

The region northwest of *al–Karak* is characterized by the *Wādī'l–Karak*, also called *Sēl al–Karak*, connecting the city with the peninsula *al-Lisān*. The region is altogether rich in water. Its topographical description could be better; the maps are incomplete and differ in details.[13] I am indebted to *Mr. Maḥmūd Aḥmad aṣ–Ṣōb* for useful informations; he was an inhabitant of *al–Karak* in the sixties who dwelled together with a part of his family in the *Wādī'l–Karak* and was well acquainted with the whole region.

As far as I can see, two spots primarily come into question for the location of Betomarsea:

1. *ᶜAyn Sāra*, two road kilometres northwest of *al-Karak*, one of the main springs for the water supply of the city, situated on the right hand side of the road, in a very nice green headwaters with many trees and bushes.

2. *Mūmyā*, about 8 road kilometres northwest of *al–Karak*, near a village called *Baddān* which the maps wrongly localize on the left hand side of the *wādi*, but it is situated on the right hand side. My informant insisted on the name *Mūmyā* for the spot on the left hand side; this name is not mentioned in the maps. It is an area with five springs near a *ḫirba*. The historical identity of the names *Mūmyā* and *Maiumas* cannot be excluded, but is not certain at all. Further investigations are needed. [Supplement 1987: In the meantime I have become convinced of the identity of Betomarsea with ᶜAyn Sāra, the reasons of which I shallgive in another place.]

The location of the villages Aia and Tharais[14] is difficult too, because those villages are not mentioned in the Bible and in other literary sources. According to the mosaic map of Madaba they are located west or southwest of *al–Karak*, apparently on the second level of the mountain range towards the Dead Sea, on the same line – so to speak – and not too far from each other. Seen from *al–Karak* they seem to be the last villages on the slope. That's all we can say. The very best suggestions, based on the mosaic map and on the similarity of the names, are as follows: *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* for Aia and *al–ᶜIrāq* near *ᶜAyn Tarᶜīn* for Tharais, both proposed by A. Musil[15] and by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.[16] We have to leave out of consideration older identifications, e. g. with *al–ᶜAyna* and *Ḏāt Rās* on the northern bank of *Wādi'l - Ḥasā*, because these places are much too far from *al–Karak*. However, *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* and *al-ᶜIrāq* are suitable locations on the following grounds: 1. They are situated southwest of *al–Karak*; 2. they are situated on the second level as described above; 3. they are located near an old Roman road which connected *al–Karak* with the *Ġōr an–Numera* and the *Ġōr aṣ–Ṣāfī*.

I visited *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* and *al-ᶜIrāq* in 1963. At *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* on the eastern slope of *Wādi'l–Fuḫēt* I found potsherds from Early Bronze, Middle Bronze Iron II, Roman and Byzantine; there were no painted Mamluki sherds, but some of the time after the Mamluks. A road, not paved with asphalt, goes from *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* to the northeast along *Wādi Kamannā* and *al–Ifranǧ* to *al–Karak*. Its predecessor, bordered on both sides and with remains of road ballast, can be seen here and there. Beyond any doubt this is the first part of the Roman road going from *al–Karak* by way of *Kaṯrabbā* down to the *Ġōr an–Numēra* and to the *Ġōr aṣ–Ṣāfī*. Impressive remains of this

Roman road still appear west of *Katrabbā*.[17] At *al-ᶜIrāq* on the northern slope of *Sēl Gdēra* which runs into *Wādī'l-ᶜIrāq* I found some Roman and Byzantine potsherds, not far from *ᶜAyn Tarᶜīn*. Explorations are difficult there, because the modern village is situated on its own *tall*. About 150 m southeast of the *tall* there is a *ḫirba* with some ruined houses and walls, called *al-balad al-qadīm*, with Arab potsherds from the times after the Mamluks. I was told that the last inhabitant of *al-balad al-qadīm* left his house about 50 years ago. It is obvious that the settlement was located in Roman and Byzantine times at the spot of modern *al-ᶜIrāq* near *ᶜAyn Tarᶜīn*. After the Mamluks the inhabitants partly emigrated from there to *al-balad al-qadīm*, and about 50 years ago they returned back to the *tall* of *al-ᶜIrāq*.

To sum up: The identifications of Aia = *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* and Tharais = al-*ᶜIrāq* are based on the following grounds: 1. the situation of both villages southwest of *al-Karak*; 2. the names *Ḫirbat ᶜAy* and *ᶜAyn Tarᶜīn* near *al-ᶜIrāq* 3. the relative location of both villages to each other; 4. the pottery; 5. the situation at or near the Roman road from *al-Karak* to the Dead Sea. I think these identifications are correct.

2. *Petra on the Mosaic Map of Madaba?*

At the edge of the preserved part of the mosaic, south of river (Z) ΑΡЄΔ i. e. *Wādī'l-Ḥasā*, one can see two and a half black letters which are not represented on the drawing of Palmer and Guthe and in the reprint of these plates by M. Avi-Yonah. They appeared during the restoration works in 1965.[18] We read MЄ; the third letter could be Α , Λ or Δ . Undoubtedly these letters are the traces of a longer inscription, however, an inscription of which kind? A place name or the last line of an inscription not belonging to a town or village? Is it a biblical reminiscence or a profane representation? Was there a symbol for a locality of the usual type with walls, tower and roofs, and if there was such a symbol, was it represented above the inscription or right of it or below? Does the inscription refer to the land of Edom or to the gulf of *ᶜAqabā* or even to the peninsula of Sinai? We don't know. The fact that only two and a half letters are preserved doesn't make the attempts for completion totally hopeless. Let me remind of another case on the same mosaic map: two and a half letters at the edge of the mosaic below the city of Neapolis could indeed be restored to an inscription of 41 letters, the legend of « Dothaim where Joseph found his brothers pasturing » [19]. Is there any chance to get an inscription merely based on the letters MЄΑ, MЄΛ or MЄΔ ?

It seems to be impossible, especially if we have to suppose a profane representation or a legend like Aia and Tharais being not far from our traces; for the number of literary about the land east and southeast of the

Dead Sea is small. However, the chances increase if the inscription referred to the Bible. In this case we can trace back to the main sources from which the mosaic artist borrowed his informations: the Greek Septuagint and the « *Onomasticon of Biblical Place Names* » written by the bishop Eusebius of Caesarea and translated into Latin by St. Hieronymus. We have to take into consideration: either the remnant letters belong to an inscription which described one of the events mentioned in the Bible or to a place name or to a name of a region known from the Bible. In order to illustrate what I mean, I call attention to three biblical reminiscences on the southern or south-eastern part of the mosaic map; they are of that kind which could be expected here:

1. Ραφιδιμ ἔνδα ἐπελδόντι τῷ Αμαληκ ὁ ισραηλ ὑπολέμρσεν « Raphidim where Israel fought against the coming Amalek »[20]; cp. Exod. 17,8–16.

2. Ἔρῆμος Σιν ὅ'που κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα κ(αὶ) ἡ ὀρτυγομήτρα « The wilderness of Sin where the manna and the quails were sent down »[21]; cp. Exod. 16, 1–36 and Numb. 11,4–34.

3. Ἔρῆμ [ος ἔνθα/ὅ'που] τοὺς ισραηιτας εωω (?) IN (= ἔσωσεν ?) ὁ χαλκοὺς ὄ'φις « The wilderness where the serpent of brass saved (?) the Israelites »[22]; cp. Numb. 21,4–9.

The sequence of these biblical events marks the horizon of the Old Testament narratives, an allusion of which could perhaps be expected here. The chronological and geographical limit, so to speak, is given in Numb. 21, 12: because in this text the arrival of the Israelites at river Zared (= *Wādī'l–Ḥasā*) is reported. Therefore three traditions come into question: 1. the stay of the Israelites at Qadesh Barnea, the death of Miryam, and the waters brought forth by Moses out of the rock (Numb. 20,1–13; mentioned by Eusebius, Onom. 112,8–12); 2. how Edom refused passage to Israel (Numb. 20, 14–21; not mentioned by Eusebius); 3. how Aaron died on mount Hor (Numb. 20, 22–29; mentioned three times by Eusebius, Onom. 46, 14–16/126, 19–20/176,7–8). Only the items no. 2 and 3 are on the short list, because item no. 1 – Qadesh Barnea – is located much more to the south. However, we need not care about this matter, for there is no account in the Septuagint and no item in Eusebius Onomasticon concerning those events where the remnant letters MЄA , MЄΛ or MЄΔ could really fit in.

After having tried to find out the supposed inscription in this way, but without any success, we may examine all the items in the Greek Bible and in Eusebius' Onomasticon referring to places, towns and villages in the land of Edom, in the southern desert regions and in Moab too, the latter

because topographical mistakes on the mosaic map cannot be excluded with certainty. However, all research doesn't give any result, as far as I can see.

Shouldn't we regard it as hopeless? Or should we say: nothing ventured, nothing gained? Let us step back and look at the mosaic map on the whole and start a simple question: a traveller, a modern tourist for instance, going from north to south on the east bank of Jordan and east of the Dead Sea, passing *Wādī'l-Mōǧib* and *Wādī'l-Ḥasā*, to what place does he want to go? He wants to go to Petra, of course. Did travellers so in the 6th century A. D.? In all probability they did not. The Christian pilgrims for example did not go to Petra, as far as we know.[23] The splendour of Petra had been diminished, its political rank was lost, it had become a provincial town. However, it was still situated near the famous old royal road, the via Traiana from Bostra to Aila; it was the residence of a Christian archbishop, and it is still mentioned in Byzantine literature after the decline of its political power: 17 times in Eusebius' Onomasticon, in the Descriptio Orbis Romani by Georgius Cyprius[24], on the Tabula Peutingeriana[25] and elsewhere. Shouldn't it have been represented on the mosaic map of Madaba too?

The items on the subject from Eusebius' Onomasticon are as follows:

1. 142, 7–8 : Πέτρα. Πόλις ἐν γῇ 'Εδὼμ τῆς 'Αραβίας, ἥτις ἐπεκλήθη ἰεθοήλ, ἡ kai 'Ρεμὲμ παρὰ 'Ασσυρίοις ὀνομάζεται « Petra, a city in the land of Edom, province of Arabia, which was called Joktheel, which is also named Rekem by the Syrians. »

2. 144, 7–9: 'Ρεκέμ . α'ύτη ἐστὶν Πέτρα πόλις τῆς 'Αραβίας. ἧς ἐβασίλευσε 'Ροκόμ, ον ἀνεῖλον οἱ 'υιοὶ ἰσραήλ. λέγεται σὲ καὶ αὐτὸς βασιλε'υς Μασιάμ « Rekem, that is Petra, a city of the province of Arabia, which was ruled by Rokom, whom defeated the Israelites. The king himself is also called Madiam. » The place name ιεχθοηλ (= יָקְתְאֵל) is mentioned in II Kings 14,7: « He (king Amaziah of Judah) slew Edom in the Valley of Salt, ten thousand, and took Sela by war, and called the name of it Joktheel, unto this day.» Eusebius explains this text in Onom. 110,22: ἰεκθοήλ. Πέτρα ἐν Βασιλείαις « Joktheel, (that is) Petra in the Books of Kings ». He adds in Onom. 72,28–29, misinterpreting the «Valley of Salt» (in Hebrew גֵּיא הַמֶּלַח) as if it were a place name: Γημελά. χώρα 'Εσώμ: 'Α' σὲ καὶ Σύμμαχος γάραγγα ἁλῶν « Gemela, land of Edom, but according to Aquila and to Symmachus Valley of Salt. » Γημεγα or, in the Septuagint, Γαιμελε is a mere transcription of Hebrew גֵּיא הַמֶּלַח which is treated as a place name, although it is no place name, but the name of a valley.

From all these items we are able to combine or to reconstruct the texts of two kinds of inscriptions, both referring to Petra:

1. (1) [ΠΕΤΡΑΕΝΓΗΕΔΩΜ

(2) ΤΗϹΑΡΑΒΙΑϹΗΚ͵ΙΕΧΘΟ

(3) ΗΛΗΚ͵ΡΕΚΕΜΕΝΘΑΕΠΑ

(4) ΤΑΞΕΝΑΜΕϹϹΙΑϹΤΩΝΕΔΩΜΕΝΓΗ]

(5) ΜΕΛ[Α]

(1) Petra in the land of Edom, (2) province of Arabia, also Jokthe- (3) el, also Rekem, where slew (4) Amaziah Edom in Ge (5) mela.

2. (1) [ΡΕΚΕΜΗΚ͵ΙΕΧΘΕϹΗΛ

(2) ΗΝΥΝΠΕΤΡΑΕΝΘΑ

(3) ΕΠΑΤΑΞΕΝΑΜΑϹΙ

(4) ΑϹΤΩΝΕΔΩΜΕΝΓΗ]

(5) ΜΕΛ[Α]

(1) Rekem, also Joktheel, (2) now Petra, where (3) slew Amaziah (4) Edom in Ge (5) mela.

Of course, the exact wording cannot be reconstructed; other slightly varying approaches remain possible. Perhaps someone will prefer other forms of some Greek words: e. g. ιεκθοηλ instead of ιεχθοηλ, Αμασιας instead of Αμεσσιας, Γαιμελε instead of Γημελα and so for th. As far as the phraseology is concerned, the reconstruction should be as close as possible to similar inscriptions on the mosaic map of Madaba. Indeed the mosaic artist preferred an arrangement of longer inscriptions in 4 or 5 lines. There are a lot of examples for division of words, for short lines at the end and for abbreviated καί.

If Petra was represented on the mosaic map of Madaba, its legend approximately looked like one of the two suggested reconstructions. But was it represented on the map? I don't know. If anyone has other and better explanations for the two and a half letters ΜΕΑ, ΜΕΛ or ΜΕΔ he is kindly requested to let me know.

NOTES

1. Cp. P. Palmer and H. Guthe, Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba. I. Tafeln (Leipzig 1906); M. Avi-Yonah, The Madaba Mosaic Map. With Introduction and Commentary (Jerusalem 1954).

2. Cp. H. Donner and H. Cüppers, Die Restauration und Konservierung der Mosaikkarte von Madeba. Vorbericht. ZDPV 83 (1967) p. 1–33; pl. 1–12.

3. H. Donner and H. Cüppers, Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba. Teil I: Tafelband. ADPV 1977): quoted as Donner- Cüppers.

4. Donner–Cüppers, pl. 17.53.54.56.104.105.

5. For discussion see O. Eimfeldt, Kleine Schriften 4 (1968) p. 285–296; 5 (1973) p. 118v142. Furthermore: P.D. Miller, AnOr 48 (1971) p. 37–49. M. Dahood, idem p.51–54; M. Heltzer, IEJ 12 (1972) p. 225; W. v. Soden, ZA 62 (1972) p. 281f. ; A.F. Rainey, IOS 3 (1973) p. 61; T.L. Fenton, UF 9 (1977) p. 71–75; M. Dietrich – O. Loretz, UF 10 (1978) p. 421 f.

6. Cp. K. Preisendanz, Maiumas. RE XIV,1 (1928) 610–612.

7. First proposed by A. Büchler, Une localité énigmatique mentionée sur la mosaique de Madaba. Revue des Études Juives 42 (1901) p.125–128. For the Rabbinic sources cp. e. g. Midrash Sifre R. § 131; Targum Pseudo–Jonathan to Numb. 25,2 a.o.

8. Cp. O. Henke, Zur Lage von Beth Peor. ZDPV 75 (1959) p. 155–163.

9. Loc. cit. p. 41.

10. R.T. O'Callaghan, Madaba (Carte de). Dictionnaire de la Bible (ed. L. Pirot et A. Robert), Suppl. V, fasc. 26 (1953) 677.

11. A. Musil, Moab. Vorbericht über eine ausführliche Karte und topographische Beschreibung des alten Moab. Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Academie der Wissenschaften, Wien (1903) p. 181.

12. F.–M. Abel, Géographie de la Palestine II (1938, 1967²) p. 284.

13. Cp. 1 : 100 000 South Levant, N.H.36.F.6 Karak; 1 : 25 000 The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, sheet 210/065 Karak.

14. Donner–Cüppers, pl. 17.18.53.55.56.57.104.105.106.107.

15. A. Musil, Moab (see note 11) p. 181.

16. Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, La carte de la Palestine d'après la mosaique de Madaba. Recueil d'archéologie orientale 2 (1897/98) p. 169.

17. Cp. N. Glueck, AASOR XVIII-XIX (1939) p. 148 (ill. 49).

18. Donner-Cüppers, pl. 53.58.107 .

19. H. Donner, ZDPV 83 (1967) p. 25-27.

20. Donner-Cüppers, pl. 39.81.126.

21. Donner-Cüppers, pl. 41.81.82.126.

22. Donner-Cüppers, pl. 39.41.81.82.126.

23. H. Donner, Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land. Die ältesten Berichte christlicher Palästinapilger (4. - 7. Jahrhundert) (1979).

24. 1044: Πέτραι μητρπολις ; ed. H. Gelzer (1890) p. 53.

25. K. Miller, Die Peutingersche Tafel (reprint 1962) 9,5.

George E. Mendenhall
The University of Michigan U. S. A.

THE SYRO – PALESTINIAN ORIGINS OF PRE – ISLAMIC ARABIC

There are two unassailable axioms sacred to most of traditional Western scholarship that deals with the Near East which must be finally laid to a much–deserved rest if we are to make any progress in understanding the the Ancient Near Eastern world. The first axiom is that any ancient person who owned more than two sheep is (or was) a nomad. The second axiom is that whenever there is found evidence for a new language or a new generalized «ethnic» term, then there has been a fresh wave of barbarian nomads out of the Arabian desert.

Put so bluntly, I suppose many scholars would object to these statements; nevertheless, nearly every week there appears in print an article that either flatly states something along these lines, or tacitly presupposes one or both of these axioms. Thus, successively the Arameans, the Hebrews, the Amorites, and some time ago even the Phoenicians were or are thought to have originated in the Arabian desert, migrated to the « settled » zone, and eventually become « civilized » . Axioms, as a general rule, are capable neither of proof nor of disproof, and I shall not spend further time on this topic. It is necessary here merely to point out that these axioms simply are no longer useful, and are actually a most serious obstacle to a more adequate understanding of the ancient historical process. One might well add the modern also, and here it suffices merely to point out the image of modern Arabic culture portrayed by Hollywood movies and newspaper cartoonists in present–day America.

Two recent events should put an end forever to these illusions. First, is the discovery of the Ebla texts and the demonstration that they contain much that can be explained only on the basis of Early Bronze Age West Semitic. Perhaps just as important was the announcement of Peter Parr just two years ago that the notrthern and western parts of the Arabian Peninsula are an archaeological blank between the beginning of the Early Bronze age and the end of the Late Bronze Age, approximately 3000 B. C. to 1300 B. C.

The historical implications of these two developments in field archaeology are very far-reaching, and to me personally very gratifying because I predicted both of them in principle, though not of course in detail, before 1966. In the first place, the origins of the Arabic language of pre-Islamic Arabia can hardly be sought in the Arabian Peninsula itself. (I am here using the term« pre-Islamic Arabia» in a purely linguistic and formal sense, and not by any means pre-supposing that the religious and cultural associations of Classical Arabic of Islamic times derive from the old *jahiliyyah.*) Though attempts have been made to derive ultimately the Semitic languages from the Chalcolithic cultures of the Eastern Provinces, the thesis can be neither proved nor disproved in the absence of written evidence, and at any rate it is entirely irrelevant to the history of the Semitic languages and Semitic speaking populations from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age forward to the period of well-documented history.

In the second place, the fact that the old nineteenth century philology relied primarily upon Classical Arabic as the basis from which to contruct their hypothetical original Semitic must be taken seriously. For if the relationships that undeniably exist between Arabic and the other Semitic languages cannot be sought in what was then regarded as the ancestral homeland of all the Semitic speaking peoples, namely the Arabian peninsula, then there is at present no other alternative than to seek the historical origins of those relationships in the regions that are contiguous to the northern and western parts of the Arabian Peninsula. These regions are Palestine proper, Transjordan, and the Sinai Peninsula. For this thesis of the Palestinian (in the broader sence) origins of the earliest identifiable pre-Islamic Arabic languages and cultures, we now have massive evidence which includes: linguistic evidence, epigraphic evidence, archaeological evidence both positive as well as negative, onomastic evidence, and finally explicit historical traditions preserved in the Old Testament.

Before proceeding further with the argument , perhaps it will be easier to follow if an outline of the social-linguistic history presupposed by the evidence is presented. For the fact is that the Semitic language family now has a history much longer, more compact, and and chronologically controlled by datable inscriptions, than any any other language family. It follows that scholars dealing with this language family have resources for understanding and delineating the process of linguistic history and linguistic change unparallelled anywhere else. But it will never be done on the basis of the completely inadequate and even absurd theories of nineteenth century philologians who had virtually no archaeological and historical controls over their speculations.

The starting point is the high population density of the Syro–Palestinian region in the Early Bronze Age. Not until the Late Roman Byzantine period did either Syria or Palestine reach the population density that is now attested for both regions in the Early Bronze Age — and not until modern times has that population density been again reached and even surpassed. Thanks to the Ebla texts, there can be little doubt that that EB population spoke a very early dialect of Semitic — but this does not by any means constitute the only source for EB Semitic. In addition to the Old Akkadian that is already attested at this period and for some centuries prior, we now have some usable information from the Syllabic Texts from Byblos which seem to be contemporary with the Ebla texts, and also evidence from the Semitic elements in Old Egyptian that must likewise derive from centuries earlier than the Ebla texts.

What is striking about this mass of EB evidence is the fact that the periphery of the Semitic–speaking homeland, i.e. Mesopotamia and Egypt, exhibits very similar linguistic phenomena: in contact with foreign, i.e. non–Semitic, languages the language attested to by texts has undergone radical changes. The phonetic structures are radically different from those of the heartland of the Syro–Palestinian region, and the grammar is also so different, particularly in the case of Egyptian, that it is not yet possible to explain it on the basis of what is known of early Semitic. This phenomenon must be taken seriously if we are to make linguistic sense out of the Ebla archives. For a similar process has certainly been at work in Ebla, at least among the educated bureaucracy who wrote those texts. The language of the texts is entirely analogous to the Amarna correspondence of a millennium later, also from Palestine and Syria in large part. In both cases, it is abvious that the scribes were attempting to write a foreign language used also in international diplomacy as well as for local bureaucratic records, but it would be the height of absurdity to assume that the population of surrounding villages or even the man in the street outside the royal palace actually spoke that way. Consequently, it will be long before we can confidently reconstruct from the Ebla texts elements other than vocabulary that we can assign to the local, indigenous spoken language. After a century of study of the Amarna letters, we are still unable to use them as a base for reconstructing the actual local language to any significant extent.

Perhaps even more important for present purposes is the observation that these scribal languages existed only so long as the socio–political system that they depended upon continued to exist. All over the Syro–Palestinian region, so far as our evidence now goes, there was a destruction of cities and a radical drop in population at the end of the Early Bronze Age. The complex

and specialized bureaucracy and their esoteric writing system and language ceased to exist — but the surviving population continued to speak their own language. Many of them seem to have fled, and the result is what scholars have long termed « the Amorite migration » . Though some are now questioning whether there ever was such a historical phenomenon, the linguistic evidence in my judgment would force us to this conclusion even if there were no Mesopotamian and Palestinian historical traditions in support of it. Archaeological evidence from the EB IV period in Palestine is certainly compatible with the hypothesis, and the evidence from the Egyptian Execration texts of the 19th century B. C. seems to me to prove it.

What is now available from Ebla and Byblos from the 24th century B. C. demonstrates two crucially important points that must be explained: first, that there are enormous differences between these two dialects of early Semitic, which can only in part be accounted for on the grounds that the Ebla scribes had, over the course of centuries no doubt, developed a peculiar bureaucratic jargon of their own just as had the scribal elites of Palestinian small towns during the Amarna period. The linguistic interference of foreign languages had resulted in the same kinds of phenomena known in many other periods and regions of linguistic history. Most notable is the English language itself which had case endings in the Old English or Anglo-Saxon period, but after the Norman Conquest of 1066 A. D. and the complete disruption of the earlier society the case endings of nouns disappeared. It is just as absurd therefore to argue that Eblaite is a Canaanite language (i. e. tenth century Phoenician – Hebrew) as it would be to argue that it is English which also lost case endings.

The second, and most surprising point that emerges from the comparison of Eblaite and Byblian is the fact that the latter is strikingly proto–Arabic in phonetics, grammar, morphology and vocabulary. Not only does this demonstrate the necessity for a complete reversal of nineteenth century ideas (as well as their basis — the report of the Greek historian Herodotus who was informed that the ancestors of the Phoenicians came from the Erythrean Sea — the Red Sea), but also it gives us for the first time a historically and archaeologically controlled starting point for the reconstruction of the early pre–history of the Arabic language.

To recapitulate: before the destruction of civilization at the end of the Early Bronze Age, there is direct evidence for four and perhaps five distinct dialect regions of high population density speaking equally distinct versions of very archaic Semitic:

1. Old Akkadian to the East, perhaps even East of the Tigris, as some Assyriologist have already suggested. Grammatically deteriorated.

2. Old Amorite: not directly attested for this period, but according to Gelb some Amorite names can probably be identified from the Old Akkadian period. The heartland was in the Syrian Jezireh where there are many hundreds of village tells some reaching far back into the Chalcolithic period if not earlier.

3. The Inland Dialect: the language underlying the Ebla texts which will have to be reconstructed from indirect evidence.

4. The Coastal Dialect: spoken West of the mountain massif and West of the Jordan rift, which includes later Phoenicia and Palestine. The Semitic elements in Old Egyptian would presumably also stem from this region, but from so much earlier a period that reconstruction of the process is likely to be nothing but speculation derived not from historical evidence but from a priori theories. Whether or not it should be termed a fifth Semitic dialect region will therefore be left an open question.

The Middle Bronze Age

After the Dark Age that covered the EB IV and MB IA period, when relevant texts are again available, the linguistic scene had radically changed. In the East, the Old Akkadian features (and script) were gone forever, and in its stead we have Old Assyrian and Old Babylonian. This linguistic change is to be correlated with the fact that most rulers in Mesopotamia by the nineteenth century have Amorite names, and the dominant sub-stratum is no longer the Old Akkadian but the Amorite.

In the West, and specifically the Coastal Dialect, the situation is much the same. The Ugaritic mythical texts that certainly do not reflect Late Bronze Age Ugaritic speech reflect the MB language, and it is most tempting to understand it as a result of the same sort of process that brought Old Akkadian to an end. There is not much doubt that Ugarit was by the nineteenth century ruled by a dynasty that stemmed from the Inland dialect area. This conclusion is strongly reinforced by the fact that the Execration Texts include a number of personal names that can be most readily explained from the Old Amorite onomastics, such as *sm – 'b = sumu – abum*. Similarly, dynastic names from Byblos are also Amorite in origin: *yp – sm – 'b*.

In contrast to EB Byblian, there has been introduced a radical sibilant shift as well as other significant phonetic changes. The *tha* is still written

at Ugarit, but evidently not thus pronounced. The initial *waw* almost entirely disappears in the West except in Arabic. Remnants of the old *s* – causative have become š, – and the old *h*- causative disappears entirely, to crop up again in Iron Age South Canaanite and in some dialects of pre-Islamic Arabic. In the present context, it is not possible to offer more illustrations. Suffice it to say that what we have of MB West Semitic is just as radically different from EB Byblian as Old Babylonian is from Old Akkadian. The changes are explained on the ground that a new population and set of speech patterns has been superimposed upon an older, and the result was the formation of a new linguistic synthesis in which many individual features can now be traced to their respective origins, while many are simply local innovations that can never be « explained. »

It is when we ask what happened to the old Coastal dialect that startling correlations of linguistic and archaeological evidence yield entirely unexpected results. It is precisely when these changes were taking place in Palestine and the Coastal region proper that we have a sudden (and one-period) archaeological evidence for a surprising number of sedentary occupation sites in the remote Sinai desert, the pottery of which has undeniable connections especially with Bab ed-Dra' and Southern Palestine of the EB IV period. From this time on there is a sporadic but continuous occupation in the Sinai and mining activities in the Southern regions in general down to the Gulf of Aqaba.

It is here, and no doubt in numerous sites in Palestine proper as well as Transjordan (all of which had a relatively sparse population until MB II) that the EB coastal dialect survived with much less linguistic interference from the Inland dialect. Most important for the future history of culture, this Coastal population preserved not only their basic language relatively intact, but also they re-adapted the cumbersome old Syllabic writing system of urban EB Byblos, reducing the number of signs to correspond to the number of consonants in their language. The result was the oldest known datable corpus of inscriptions in alphabetic writing yet available to us: the Proto – Sinaitic inscriptions. The same alphabet has been reported also from Egypt recently. Attempts to decipher them on the basis of LB Ugaritic have yielded many absurdities, and are analogous to an attempt to decipher an Old Latin inscription on the basis of King James' English — there are accidental, etymological continuities potentially involved. On the other hand, a very few inscriptions from Palestine proper indicate some tradition of literacy existing there also, but so far those inscriptions lack archaeological context, secure dating and also cannot yet be read with much confidence. What is most important, however, is the fact that those inscriptions represent a different, though related, writing system, and this is exactly

what should be expected. Writing systems, like local dialects, have distinctive local traits, and not until there is developed a unified educational system over a broad geographical region does a single writing system develop. Contrary to most scholarly assumptions, there was not a single« alphabet» invented by the« Phoenicians» in the Middle Bronze Age. Rather there was a variety of local alphabetic systems of writing from the southern Sinai and Egypt to Ugarit, none of which can be derived directly from the other, but most of which, if not all, are readaptations of the old Syllabic script of Byblos with additional signs that have other, and presumably local, origin. It goes without saying that because of their common sources in the EB syllabic script, the various alphabetic systems have much in common, but it is now a gross and misleading oversimplification to say that the pre-Islamic Arabic alphabets are derived from the Canaanite — they have parallel and independent histories from their common origin in the EB Syllabary to their demise in the Islamic and late Roman periods respectively.

The Late Bronze Age

Only at Ugarit do we have sufficient information from which some firm conclusions can be drawn. The existence of a twofold system of bureaucratic recording has historical implications also which have not been sufficiently examined. As the Amarna archives abundantly demonstrate, a variety of cuneiform writing (and Akkadian dialects) existed for the purpose of international diplomacy all over the Eastern Mediterranean world, and may be termed the« lingua franca» of international relations at the time, just as Latin served a similar purpose during the European Middle Ages. Ugaritic demonstrates also, however, that the local language was increasingly in use for literary as well as bureaucratic purposes. In addition, the non-literary texts exhibit phenomena that indicate a rather considerable differentiation between the literary language and the spoken language of the time.

When one adds to this fact the further evidence that the population of cities over the entire region was increasingly of non-Semitic speaking origin as we know from the multitude of Hurrian and Anatolian proper names, and the further fact that possibly a majority of the city state kings were also of non-Semitic speaking origin, then the conclusion that the old Coastal + Amorite linguistic synthesis produced in the Middle Bronze Age was also rapidly breaking down. The result was an ever-increasing gap between the actual language spoken in the daily life of the cities and the elite, educated language of the bureaucracy.

When that bureaucratic elite was destroyed or scattered by the destruction or abandonment of virtually all the cities of the Eastern Mediterra-

nean at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the only linguistic continuity possible was the common everyday speech of the survivors. The Early Iron Age was a period in which the social and political context and need for bureaucratic record–keeping was virtually non–existent, or so radically diminished that we have only minimal traces of the very existence of writing in the Syro – Palestinian region. In inland Syria, it is questionable how much population was left at all: the Euphrates and Orontes valleys were almost completely depopulated, with the exception of the neo–Hittite enclave in the vicinity of Carchemish. At the same time, both the East and West Bank of Palestine saw a dramatic increase in population, which must have been the result of a considerable influx of population immigrating from the North.

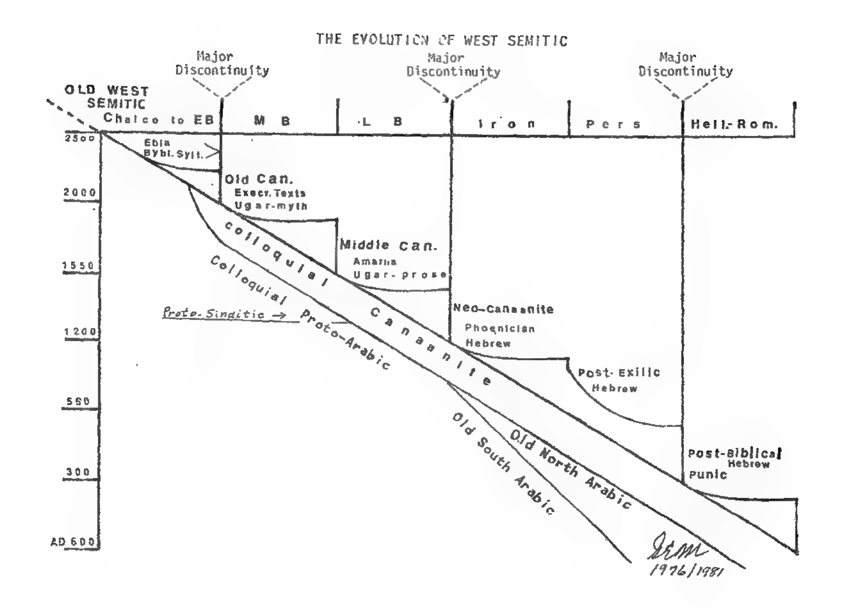
The population pressures thus created had a result that would seem entirely predictable: the increasing utilization of fringe areas. Again, it is a matter of fact that settlements in the South and the East of Palestine were again established in regions that had none since the end of the Early Bronze Age. This increased occupation of the desert fringe was, however, enormously facilitated by the introduction of the domesticated camel, which opened up the entire Arabian Peninsula to exploration and utilization. Very soon thereafter, urban kingships were established in the Yemen and rapidly prospered. Already in the thirteenth century a far–flung and complex coalition of kings of Midian existed in the northern Hejaz based on urban walled cities and no doubt subdivided into an indefinite number of local tribes, some of whom were specialized such as the Qenite metal–workers. The ultimate Palestinian origin of these tribes is witnessed to, strangely enough, in the Hebrew Bible where we read:« But to the sons of his concubines Abraham gave gifts, and while he was still living he sent them away from his son Isaac, eastward to the east country.» (Gen. 25:6) In view of the fact that since the nineteenth century scholars have agreed that the genealogy of Abraham–Isaac–Jacob is an artificial fiction, there can be no doubt that the connection of the many proto–Arabic tribes listed in the genealogies with Abraham is authentic and original.

The linguistic situation in the entire Syro – Palestinian region changed rapidly and radically in the Early Iron Age. Except in the South and East, everywhere the old Bronze Age phonetic, verbal, and nominal structures disintegrated — and almost certainly under the impact of linguistic interference from non–Semitic speaking immigrants, especially groups such as the Philistines and other newcomers from Anatolia. The number of consonants used was reduced to only 22 — and we have good reason to believe that in common, uneducated speech in the cities this phenomenon had already taken place in the course of the Late Bronze Age. The nouns lost their case endings, the distinction between long and short vowels as a

phonemic contrast was lost, and a strong final stress accent was introduced. The same processes took place all over the region: but in somewhat different details. The distinction between the coastal and inland regions continued to exist, for the old grammatical structure broke down different ways: in the inland region the new linguistic synthesis came to be termed Aramaic, while the coastal dialect was the « lip of Canaan» as the prophet Isaiah called it. With the Phoenician seafaring, this language became a new« lingua franca» of the Mediterranean attested to the East in Amman, and to the West in Cyprus and Sardinia, until it was suplanted first by Aramaic during the Persian Empire, then by koiné Greek during the Roman Empire, and finally by Arabic with the coming of Islam.

Conclusion

The history of the Semitic languages thus illustrates the wisdom of E. Pulgram's statement: « Unlike the laws of the natural sciences, the laws of grammar are determined neither by nature nor by necessity, but by social convention, language is the result of a social contract -- a contract, however, that is subject to change.»


THE EVOLUTION OF WEST SEMITIC
Major Discontinuity
Major Discontinuity
Major Discontinuity
OLD WEST SEMITIC
Chalco to EB
M B
L B
Iron
Pers
Hell.-Rom.
2500
2000
1550
1200
550
300
AD 600
Ebla
Bybl. Syll.
Old Can.
Execr. Texts
Ugar-myth
Middle Can.
Amarna
Ugar.-prose
Neo-Canaanite
Phoenician
Hebrew
Post-Exilic
Hebrew
Post-Biblical
Hebrew
Punic
colloquial
Canaanite
Colloquial
Proto-Sinaitic →
Proto-Arabic
Old North Arabic
Old South Arabic
1976/1981

Margot Stout
(U. K.)

The Use of the Sling in Third Millennium Mesopotamia and Palestine

It is clear from all available evidence that the sling is one of the most ancient and wide-ranging weapons known. Its use is documented in such diverse regions as the Americas, from the Aleutian islands to Tierra del Fuego, Micronesia, China, India, Madagascar, Mongolia, Scandanavia, and Britain. Objects identified as clay sling bullets have been found as early as the 8th millennium. Slings were standard in the Roman army with bullets cast in lead. As recently as 1936, Spanish Loyalists used slings to throw grenades into the fortress of Alcazar. Obviously, with few exceptions, the evidence of slings that survive from ancient times are the clay or stone sling-buillets, or, rarely, artistic depictions of slings being used. This is also true of the bow-arrowheads and depictions of archers are usually all that remain. Historically, the bow had always been taken more seriously as a true weapon whereas the sling, in of evidence to the contrary, has been considered little more than a toy or an ineffective hunting weapon at best. The story of David and Goliath reinforced the idea–that a «toy» weapon could bring down a mighty warrior. In the 1950s, V. Gordon Childe pointed out a contrast in locations in the ancient world where the sling and bow were used. Acceptance of this contrast, demonstrated by archaeological evidence, presupposes an acceptance of the idea that the sling and the bow were equally competative as long-range weapons. The function of a long-range weapon such as flights of arrows or sling – bullets or artillary barrages, is less an attempt to kill anyone than an attempt to keep the enemy busy so he cannot shoot back at you, and under cover of whatever sort of barrage, you can move your infantry or siege machines in where they can engage at close-range. Manfred Korfmann in his massive study *Schleuder und Bogen fn Sudwestasien* demonstrated with both historical and ethnological information, that though cultures that used the sling may have known of the existence of the bow, they still preferred the sling. In the region of our interest, the Near East, the sling is older than the bow, being used in the Mesolithic, and possibly even in the Paleolithic period. Evidence of the bow is first documented for the Near East in Palestine ca. 7,000 B.C. For all practical purposes, the majority of the prehistoric population of the Near East used the sling, excepting Palestine, until the middle of the 3rd millennium B. C. In the middle of the 6th millennium, the bow made a brief appearance in Anatolia, but otherwise the spread of Neolithic culture in the Near East

coincided with the users of the sling. The sphere of the bow was Africa, the Caucasus, and possibly the Arabian peninsula, although the latter is just beginning to be explored. Preliminary data suggests an early use of the bow in this area. For millennia, bow users made no advances into the territory of the sling. In the 4th millennium we gain knowledge of the composite bow from the Uruk culture of southern Mesopotamia, but not, apparently, as a practical weapon. It is not until the second half of the 3rd millennium, with the Akkadians, that the bow advances on a large scale into the previously solid area of sling usage. The explanation for this–a sudden strong influence from a bow using area–is a subject for much more research, and not for this paper. What is relevant here is the recognition that the sling was the long-range weapon in almost exclusive use in the Near East from the Mesolithic to the 3rd millennium, with the interesting exception of Palestine. Explanations for the Palestine phenomena are somewhat feeble, the best being that the early and close association with North Africa, where the bow is documented in continuous use from very early times, cemented the relationship, and the people never felt inclined to change. Sling–bullets are not recorded from excavations in Palestine, with a few Iron Age exceptions. In an area of sling users, the David and Goliath story would have no « punch» at all; only in a region where the sling was a shepard's toy would the tale have a miraculous quality.

Our attention must really be given now to the sling, or, more precisely, to the physical evidence of the sling; sling–bullets. Sling–bullets, particularly clay sling–bullets, have received unwarrently bad treatment at the hands of excavators. They rarely rate a drawing or a photograph in a publication. They are often wrongly identified, wrongly described, and if depicted at all, only a few« representative types» are shown. They have been published as« counters»,«weights»,«unknown objects», and the ubiquitous«cult object.» They have been described as« straw–tempered and baked»,« baked clay», and«unbaked clay.» The vast majority are of untempered pure clay, sun–dried. It seems likely that the idea of clay bullets came quickly to the slingers of stones. The clay bullets would be of a uniform size and weight the slinger would not have to adjust for each throw. They would also be readily available whereas stones of a suitable size not always would be. The clay bullets were untempered to achieve maximum weight and, due to their density, were sun–dried rather than baked to avoid cracking. Anyone who examined a selection can see that they are carefully made.

Korfmann ended his study with the end of the 4th millennium, with the awareness, of course, that the sling continued in use. By the end of the

4th millennium, Korfmann had identified three different basic shapes: biconical, avoid, and spheroid. The real diversification of types seems to take place in the 3rd millennium even with the advent of the bow. At Tell es–Sweyhat, a late third millennium site on the northern Euphrates in Syria, quantities of clay sling–bullets were found that could be divided into five distinctive types: pointended ellipsoid (small and slender); flat–ended ellipsoid (fat and heavy); biconical (length and diameter equal); elongated biconical (length nearly twice the diameter); round (rounded and or shperical). Since these objects were manufactured in these differing shapes, it seems necessary to regard them as different. In other words, why make different shapes ? It should be added that in the quantities found, including two caches, the types were mixed with the biconical type in the majority. In an attempt to see what differences these types might have, it was decided to manufacture some sling–bullets of our own. The ancient sling–bullets from Sweyhat were untempered and had a slip–like coating. The clay to be used was taken from a local *libn* pit and enough water waseadded to mix the clay thoroughly, squeezing out all lumps. The mixture was left three days until the water evaporated leaving a sticky layer of fine clay on top. Different methods were used to form the different shapes. The first step was to take a lump of clay and work it from both ends, constantly turning the object to keep a uniform diameter. The slip–like effect was produced by rubbing the finished sling–bullet with water before drying. In three days in the sun, the bullets were dry and hard to the core.

To throw the bullets we found a local shepard who could throw, in a sling made of woven wool, stones of comparable size and weight to the clay bullets two hundred meters. As in the case of bows, and also guns, apparently slings also have a cast, that is, a tendency to throw left or right, up or down, no matter how straightly they are aimed. The average results of our tests were as follows:

Shape	Distance	Cast	Weight of Bullet
Biconical	90.5m	Left	35g
Elongated biconical	120m	Straight	57g
ellipsoid	103m	Straight	28g
Flat–ended ellipsoid	94m	Left	43g

Obviously only a mechanical arm could produce the same throw time after time, and for any sort of statistical study many more of each type would

have been needed. The results, however, even though the sample was small, show a difference and seems enough to deduce that there was a reason for the different shapes.

In spite of the advent of the bow with the Akkadians, it appears that the sling, rather than beginning a gradual decline, instead becomes more refined in the new shapes of the clay bullets and also their wide distribution in 3rd millennium sites. There would seem to be instantly obvious two reasons for this: in an area where the sling has been the standard log-range weapon for millennia, the population is not going to all become«overnight» archers. The second reason is surely economic. The short adage«I shot an arrow into the air, it fell to earth I know not where» is very appropriate. A composite bow is time-consuming to make and needs a craftman's skill to make it. Bows and arrows are both made out of scarce wood and arrows must be tipped with either flint or metal, again needing skill to make. Therefore, if your arrow«falls to earth you know not where,» or your bow breaks, you are considerably out of pocket, whereas clay is cheap. Slings made of wool or leather do not need the care that has to be lavished on maintaining a bow in good condition. Certainly in the 3rd millennium there was not the vast military organization as in, say, the Assyrian period, that could afford to equip its armies. Yet, as was mentioned before, slings continue in use on into the 20th century AD. We must conclude, then, that the sling was a viable weapon, perhaps the log-range weapon, in the Near East long after the Neolithic period, and I appeal to all excavators to try to recognize these objects for for what they are, and to record them carefyully so we can put:together an increasingly accurate picture of warfare in the 3rd, 2nd, and even the 1st millennium in the ancient Near East.

The above concludes the paper as it was read, and like the majority of read papers, it sounded better than it reads. I am adding this short addendum because, from the wealth of comments and questions I received after the paper, far from saying anything particularly significant, I had barely touched the«tip of the iceburg.» It was ovbious from comments by various excavators that the range of use of the sling, both geographically and in time, is greater than imagined. I was especially fascinated to hear of the discovery of baked clay sling bullets at Carthage. What also became immediately clear is that both my own and Korfmann's delneation of shapes is totally inadequate. The oddest shaped objects fly beautifully, from flat dis-like objects to quite heavy objects triangular in section.The only advice

I could give to the various excavators who inquired whether or not certain objects could be sling–bullets is to try. Any cache or large quantity of inexplicable objects of the same shape may fly. Fortunately, in the modern Near East, there is almost always someone available, probably a shepard, skilled in the use of the sling. I was most grateful and pleased by the response to the paper and for all the tantalizing information received, which really must relegate the original to the realm of a pre–preliminary study.

Magnus OTTOSSON

University of OSLO, Norway

TOPOGRAPHY AND CITY PALANNING–THE EXTENT OF JERUSALEM

Qubbat as–Sakḫrah, the symbol of this congress, is one of the most beautiful monuments ever to be found. Even a common western tourist who has little understanding about the importance of the building for the Muslims is generally fascinated of its beauty and magnificence. The architects have succeeded in creating a harmonious combination between nature and structure. The official Arabic name *al–Haram as – Sarif* is therefore also from an esthetical point of view well chosen.

You can ask why just Jerusalem has become the Navel of the earth. The answers may be diverse. The city has a long and complicated history. But in to my opinion it depends first of all on the topography of the site used with imagination and skill by the architects of different times. Anyhow the city was not situated on the highway of the Palestinian trade but succeeded notwithstanding at least since the Iron Age in becoming a commercial and cultural centre. Here also ideology has come to play a great role.

If we define a city as a settlement surrounded by a defence system, there were no cities in Paslestine until about 2900 B.C. This is very late, if we recall that Syria had large cities already about 6200 B.C.I am thinking of Tell Ramad, Level II, south-west of Damascus[1]. In Early Bronze Age II the city system blossomed in Palestine. The small Chalcolithic sites had extended to large, well–built cities with sometimes heavy defence systems. The Early Bronze Age cities of Palestine were very large. They could cover an area of 15 hectares, *e.g.* Arad in the Negeb[2] or 13 nectares, *e. g.* et–Tell, the Biblical Ai[3]. As the attack weapons were not so technical and heavy, it is hard to understand why the city walls often had to be built as strongly as they were. The forces of nature, earthquake and rain seem to have been the most dangerous enemies[4]. Inside these large cities many people could feel safer, and there was also space to keep the cattle.

In the Middle Bronze Age II, about 1650 B.C. began another epoch of highly skilled city building. The cities were still larger than these of the Early Bronze Age. Tell Dan – Laish had an area of 25 hectares[5] and Hazor more

than 74 hectares[6]. Such large cities demanded special topography for defence as now the attack weapons were very heavy and well developed, e. g. the battering ram. The architects of those cities were really very skilful people. As much as possible they used extended heights in order to create a safe inclosure. And where they could not find such hills they built up stupendous earthen ramparts[7]. The *wadis* were used as moats and at the outer side of the artificial tell they cut a moat or *fosse* which could be very wide. At Hazor, its western rampart is 90 m wide and 15 m high. The moat is 40m wide at the base and 80 m at the top and more than 15 m deep, in other words, an artificial *wadi*[8]. We may also imagine that a heavy wall was built upon the rampart. No known weapons could hurt such fortifications and the ramparts are still to be seen on many sites, e.g. Shechem, tell el-Far'ah (N), Hazor, tell Dan, Qatna, tell Mardikh, Carchemish etc.

In the Late Bronze Age and the following epochs the same fortifications could be used after slight repaires ,and at some places, e.g. Jaffa, the slope or *glacis* of the Middle Bronze Age II rampart was used in the defence system as late as Hellenistic times[9] .

But we know that Palestine has always been an unquiet area, a country of transit where people have come and people have left. Through the centuries the cities were destroyed several times, but people always erected them again and again on the previous sites, in course of time levelled out to tells which grew higher and higher but also became more and more narrow. People could get an easily defended but restricted area to settle and in the same time use the old natural water supply and the old routes of trade. But economically there must have been a decrease in prosperity as there were no possibilities to expand and no possibilities to assemble a large population with its properties inside the walls. In the Iron Age most of the cities were very small if we compare them with the settlements of the Bronze Age. The cities were often only 4 – 8 hectares in size and even less.[10] The only great exception from the rule was Jerusalem. In the Bronze Age the town only covered the southeastern hill, an area of about 6 hectares. Just at the end of the Iron Age the city seems to have covered an area of nearly 50 hectares.

Of many answers to the question why the cities were so small during the Iron Age, there is one which must be stressed. The attack weapons, especially the battering ram, were now so advanced, that there were few possibilities to neutralize them. The Assyrians conquered nearly all cities in Palestine, except Tyre and Jerusalem. Let us follow the history of the last mentioned city in order to find out how Jerusalem both could expand and defend herself successfully during the ages.

The topographical conditions are extremely good for a settlement. Deep and wide valleys surround steep and high hills difficult of access. There are the Mount of Olives, Mount Scopus, Bezetha hill running south into the Autonia Rock, Temple Mount and the southeastern hill; and further to the west is the western hill with Mount Sion un the South. Common to all these hills is that they are surrounded by deep valleys, to the east *wadi Sitti Merjam* (Kidron), to the west *wadi al-Mes* and to the south *wadi ar–Rababi* (Hinnom) and *wadi an–Nar*. *al–Wad* (Tyropoeon) separates the eastern and western hills. The valleys make deep and wide moats and the slopes of the hills steep, natural *glacis*. But the northern sides of the hills create special problems. As the landscape slopes to the south, Bezetha is 777 m above sea–level Temple Mount 740 m, the southeastern hill 689 m – the erosion has worked in the southern direction. The porous layers of limestone have been swept away by wind and rain and the deep and wide valleys came into being.

From a defender's point of view it would have been unimportant what hill the architects had chosen for the city, The first was built on the southeastern hill although it is the lowest one. But its eastern side had a well, *ajn Sitti Merjam*. The area of the hill is scarcely impressive, about 400 m long and about 120 m wide. To the south, west and east the slopes were a natural *glacis*. Here were good possibilities to build strong fortifications. But the northern side, although its topography is not known in detail, must have given the building –constructors grey hair. As the erosion had worked in southern direction, the northern sides of the hills were more or less hidden from the destructive forces of the nature. For topographical suggestions we still have mostly to rely on C. Warren and C. W. Wilson who did a fantastic work of survey in Jerusalem more than 100 years ago[11]. According to Warren's topographical map of Jerusalem[12], the valleys of Kidron and of Tyropoeon in some places cut curves into the hills and create there a "saddle". In the Bezetha hills there are at least three such saddles and we will find that all of them were used to cut artificial moats.

Let us first turn to the northern side of the southeastern hill. Few investigations have here been carried out but thanks to the late Dame Kenyon's excavations we can now use the result of the work done by Duncan–Macalister in 1923–25 [13] and suggest some improvements. The Mosque of *al–Aqsa* is situated 737, 8 m above the sea–level. On a place 122 m south of the mosque, the level is 707,2 m. Further 100m to the south the height is 689,7 m In the area of this 100 m level Dame Kenyon made two soundings, Site H and Site R. On the first site mentioned, she reached bedrock after only 4 m of digging but on site R, situated 37 m north of Site H, she did not reach bedrock in a depth of 8,79 m.[14] Further digging was too dangerous. This result is very interesting as Duncan and Macalister digging in the same area

but further to the west–had found a depression which they called "the Zedek valley". This seems to be the western part of Dame Kenyon's „saddle" running east–west between Kidron and Tyropoeon. But these gentlemen also found something else : the depression had been extended in an eastern direction by a trench cut into the bedrock. This trench is 3–3,65 m wide and 2.44 m deep. They could not follow all its extensions. Duncan and Macalister rightly suggested that here was the northern defence line of the Jebusite city of Jerusalem, and the trench is naturally a moat or *fosse* (A) cut into the bedrock. It will certainly be impossible to date the moat stratigraphically, but, as we have tried to show especially from the result at Hazor, the Bronze Age people had technical skill to transform nature into a strong line of defence[15]. In the Old Testament we are told in:detail about one conquest of the Jebusite city namely King David's attack in 2 Sam 5.6–9. There has been a long exegetical discussion about the tactics used in the conquest. There is namely a textual problem, how to translate the expression *wejigga bassinnor in* v. 8. What is *sinnor?* As the word was used in the Aramaic for a - 'pipe', Saint Jerome translated it with *fistula*, 'pipeline'; LXX used a word for ‚dagger'. But since Warren found in 1867 on the eastern slope of the southeastern hill the 13 – m – deep shaft which was connected with the Gihon well through a 19 m long tunnel,[16] most of the suggestions around *sinnor* are connected with this water system[17]. We have sparse finds of water installations in Palestine from the Late Bronze Age[18] but to judge by their appearance it seems impossible that such a shaft and tunnel could have been cut until the Iron Age II[19]. So, in to my opinion the Jebusite *sinnor* has nothing to do with Warren's shaft. Instead of the previous suggestions one can to give the word the meaning of man–made moat or *fosse*. The only one to be looked for is the above–mentioned trench found by Duncan and Macalister. According to history, Jerusalem, has been conquered a couple of times-but from the north! Therefore it is logical to suggest that King David also captured the city from this direction as the slopes on the east, south and west sides of the city were practically impossible to force. The Hebrew expression *wejigga bassinnor* could then be translated , and will reach the moat'. In relation to the Solomonic building activities mentioned in 1 Kings 11,27, we are told that , Solomon built the Millo, closed the breach of the city of David his father'–it is the place where David forced a way through the fortifications. That breach can only have existed on the northern side.

During the time of Solomon, the Old Testament tells us, there was a busy trade in all the area of Palestine, mostly thanks to the Phoenicians who wanted precious products from South Arabia. As all the main routes passed through Solomon's Kingdom, he would get a very high and important position in politics, if he could guaranty for the security of the caravans.

It seems also to have been a peaceful time at least at the boginning of his reign. A King of such a rank could nor govern from the small Jebusite citx. He had to expand. But how? If Solomon had had his capital, for instance, at Megiddo, he could not have expanded the city outside the walls because of cratical reasons. But the hills of Jerusalem could easily be used. King Solomon's engineers certainly observed that there was a saddle in the ridge between the Temple Mount and the Antonia Rock. Here they cut a moat of six m. wide running from the Tyropoeon to the Kidron. (B) The moat is still to be seen, but it has never been investigated. Just here was the Achilless' heel in the new line of defence. Although the topography of the Temple Mount must have been very difficult to handle, the use of ashlar masonry[20], made it possible now to erect strong revetment walls in order to carry laid platforms. The steep hillsides were naturally kept as *glacis*, and the walls were founded in pockets cut into the bedrock. By the inclusion of the Temple Mount into the old Jebusite city, Solomon really created a strong hold of large dimensions compared with other Iron Age cities. Solomon certainly made Jerusalem a mercantile centre although it was situated nearly seven kilometers south of the east–west High Way between Jordan valley – Gibeon – Gezer. Solomon used the new area only for his palace and temple. But these constructions were certainly something extra. If we have interpreted in a right way the measurements given in 1 Kings 6–7, the temple of Solomon was the largest one over built in Palestine. Temples were usually very small as they only were apprehended as "living places" for the gods[21]. The worshippers were just allowed to enter the court yards. The topography of the Temple Mount is really interesting when looking for the exact place of the temple seen in relation to the traditions about Umar ibn al-Hattab's search for *mihrab Dawud* and Abd el-Malik's construction *Qubbat as-Sakhrah.*

It is diffiult to tell when the Antonia Rock was included into the defences of Jerusalem. The rock looks like a trapeze. It is now 114 m. long is east – west and between 35 and 42 m wide. Its southern part was cut down by Herode the Great when he constructed the tremendous temple platform[22]. Most interesting for our case is, that just north of the Antonia Rock there has been a "saddle" in the Bezetha ridge and it was also used as a natural place for a man made moat. (C) Its total line is impossible to follow but it was found but it was found by Sir Warren in 1870. The Roman emperor Hadrian when constructing Aelia Capitolina in 135 widened the moat and built the Twin pools[23] now below the Convent of the White Sisters. In Iron Age cities it was very common to combine the line

of defence with a citadel placed inside the city, e.g. Lachish, Hazor, Dan etc. or in the city wall, for instance tell Beit Mirsim. Thus, there are reasons to suggest that the Antonia Rock quite early was included in the defence of Jerusalem. In the Book of Nehamiah 3.1 and 12,39 we read that the towers of Hammea and Hanael were situated in this area. In Hellenistic times the fortress Baris was here mentioned by Aristeas[24] who visited Jerusalem in 130 B. C. Just here was the point from where the Tenth Legion captured Jerusalem in the year 70. We have to recalthl at *al –Wad*, Tyropoeon, was much deeper in former days than at present.

There were still possibilities for expanding Jerusalem on the Bezetha hill. Outside the present line of the Turkish wall between the Damascus gate and the Herodian gate is another moat about 15 m. deep and 50 m. wide. (D) This enormous moat has cut the Bezetha ridge into two halves. One can be sure that from of old there was a quarry in this area. We are not absolutely sure when this moat was used for the first time. Certainly it was cut by the Romans during the time of Herod Agrippa I (37–44). As a curiosity it can be mentioned that just at the place of the Herodian gate the Crusaders captured Jerusalem in 1099.

We can follow the northern expansion of Jerusalem through the centuries by just looking for the man made moats. So far we have only treated the Bezetha hill and its southern extension but if we turn our eyes to the western hill, we will find that also there the city builders used a system of moats. In this area was no natural water supply and that may be the reason why people did not densely settle here until the end of the Iron Age[25]. Very few remains have been found in archaeological research[26], and the settlements are dated by sparse finds of pottery. Topographically the western hill looks like the eastern one. The Citadel like the Antonia fortress was surrounded by moats (F–G) at least in Hellenistic and Roman times, and there may also have been a moat (E) separating Mount Sion from the rest of the Western hill. The architectural activity of the Crusaders has here spoiled nearly all older structures. There is also a moat (H) outside the New Gate but it is very hazardous to give any suggestions of the time for its first use[27]. Split up in so many sections, well defended by walls and moats both natural and man–made, Jerusalem acquired a special reputation as a city very tiresome and difficult to conquer. All the sections together created a connected system of defence. In late Hellenistic time the defenders also cut secret tunnels in the bedrock. One of them, running from the Antonia Rock to the area of the Damascus gate, is more than 300 m long. These tunnels were cut in order to attack the besieging–army from behind. The largest extent

of Jerusalem is difficult to date, but it then reached its northern line at the so-called 3rd wall.[28] It could have been built under Agrippa II (53 – ?). Then the eastern and western hills were combined into one large city. There were no lack of water as the Roman aqueducts brought water from the wells in the Hebron area[29]. But I think that the valleys, *Wadi Sitti Merjam, al-Wad* and *wadi al-Mas*, were still the nerves of the city[30]. They formed the natural defence and the border lines of the city to the east and to the west. Thanks to the logic of the topography, the extent of Jerusalem could run in the northerly direction. These possibilities of expansion gave Jerusalem, at least from the Iron Age, the rank of the queen among the cities in Palestine; and in relation to the ideological messages given to humanity from there this position will never be lost.

NOTES

1. J. Mellaart, *CAH*. Vol, I . Ch. VII. 1967,13,23.

2. R. Amiran, *Early Arad. The Chalcolithic Settlement and Early Bronze City*. Jerusalem 1978.

3. J.A. Callaway, *The Early Bronze Age Sanctuary at Ai* (et–Tell) I. London 1972.

4. See the discussion at Dame K.M. Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho*. London 1957. A superb synopsis of the Early Bronze Age is still the work of R. de Vaux, Palestine in the Early Bronze Age. *Vol. CAH*. .46.1966.

5. A. Biran. *IEJ* 19 (1969) 121 ff.; 20 (1970), 92 ff.

6. Y. Yadin, *Hazor. The Schweich Lecutres* 1970. London 1972.

7. See Y. Yadin, *Hazor*, 54 ff., where a section of a man made rampart is presented.

8. Op. cit., 51 f .

9. *RB* 69 (1962), 401 . PL 43.

10. Cf. Bronze Age Hazor which was about 74 hectares with the Solomonic Hazor, 4 hectares and the Iron Age II B city (around 850 B.C.) 8 hectares.

11. C. W. Wilson, The Masonry of the Haram Wall, *Palestine Exploration Fund, Quarterly Statement for* 1880, 9–65: Warren, *The Survey of Western Palestine*. Vol. 3. London 1880.

12. C. Warren, *Plans, Elevations, Sections etc, Shewing the Results of the Excavations at Jerusalem* 1867–70. palestine Exploration Fund. London 1884, II–III. Warren has here denoted our moats (B–D) as Excavated Ditch.

13. R.A.S. Macalister–J.G. Duncan, *Excavations on the Hill of Ophel, Jerusalem* 1923–1925. *Palestine Exploration fund. Annual*. London 1926,12 ff.

14. K.M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem. Excavating* 3000 *Years of* History, London 1967. 25 f.

15. Cf. J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament*. Leiden 1952,114.

16. C.Warren, *The Recovery of Jerusalem*. Vol. I. London 1871,224 ff.; *Idem, Plans, Elevations. Sections etc. of the Excavations of Jerusalem* 1867–70. London 1884, PL XLIII.

17. Cf. the discussion at H.J. Stoebe, Die Einnahme Jerusalems und sinnor, *ZDPV* 73 (1957) 73–99).

18. See Y. Yadin, Hazor. 1972 f. and P. Lapp in *RB* 76 (1969), 583 f.; *Idem* in *BASOR* 195 (1969), 31 ff.

19. See for instance the water installations at Gibson. J.B. Pritchard, *The:Water System of Gibeon. Museum Monographs. University* of Pennsylvania 1961.

20. See now Y.Shiloh. *The proto-Aolic Capital and Israelite Ashlar Masonry, Qedem* 11 *Jerusalem* 1979.

21. Latest M. Ottosson, *Temples and Cult Places in Palestine. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas* 12, Uppsala 1980, 111ff.

22. E. W. Cohn, The Appendix of Antonia Rock in Jerusalem, *PEQ* 111 (1979), 41–52.

23. Benoit, The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Antonia Fortress, *Jerusalem Reveled* 1975,87–89.

24. M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates.* New York 1973, 9 ff.

25. *Jerusalem Revealed*, 52–60.

26. A section of a defence wall was found on the eastern slope of the Western hill. It can be dated to around 700 B.C. N. Avigad, *IEJ* 20 (1970), 1–8; 129–134; 22 (1972), 193–200.

27. *Jerusalem Revealed*, 109 f.

28. See J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament.* 1952,459 ff. *Recently* the discussion has been taken up in *BA* 42 (1979), 140–144.

29. *Jerusalem Revealed*, 79–84.

30. *Al–Wad* was used as a necropole about 700 B.C. : B. Mazar, *The Excavation in the Old City of Jerusalem Near the Temple Mount. Preliminary Report of the Second and Third Seasons* 1969–1970. Jerusalem 1971, 25 ff.

Marvin H. Pope

Yale University – U. S. A.

UGBRITIC WORDS WITH COGNATES ONLY IN ARABIC

The relevance of the present topic may not be immediately apparent or transparent in the context of a symposium on the Antiquities of Palestine, but a few preliminary remarks may clarify the connection. First of all, one should be reminded that the term« Palestine» is relatively late and thus anachronistic with reference to the pre-Philistine Middle and Late Bronze periods of the city of Ugarit and its environs. The focus of concern in this instance is the language of the ancient city of Ugarit and specifically its lexical cennections with Arabic as well as with other Semitic languages. Ugaritology has become a special field of study, but one that cannot be cultivated in isolation without attention to adjacent and related fields which influenced it and were influenced by it. Ugaritic language and literature cannot be properly or profitably studied apart from the complex context of connections centering on the Bible and its linguitic literary, historical, cultural, and religious relations, en compassing not only Syria-Palestine but the whole ancient Near East.

Last year marked the fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of ancient Ugarit which was celebrated in Latakia and in many other cities throughout the world. The discoveries made at Ras Shamra and Ras Ibn Hani are certainly among the most interesting and exciting in the annals of modern archaeology. Despite fifty years study by scholars, chiefly in Europe and the USA, many unsolved problems remain, and there is still no consensus on the precise position of Ugaritic among the northwest Semitic dialects and its affinities with other branches of the family of Semitic languages. An exciting new element has been added by the discoveries at Tell Mardikh, ancient Ebla. It is still premature to attempt to assess the signicance of the thousands of documents from Ebla before they have been properly published and thoroughly studied, before even the East-West relation of Eblaite within the family of Semitic languages has been determined. Until this is thoroughly accomplished both for Ugaritic and Eblaite, we should continue to call these languages simply by the names of their hometowns. While we wait for general access to the Eblaite documents, contro-versics stirred by premature and tendentionus efforts to sensationalize the Ebla texts serve as an admonition to maintain scholarly scepticism on phi-

lological issues, especially such as have religio–political interest. In the present essay there is no interest in the use of Ugaritic philology polemical purposes.

With these preliminary remarks, we move toward the topic at hand. In 1952 Izz-al-Din al-Yassin in a study of *The Lexical Relations Between Ugaritic and Arabic* treated 660 Ugaritic words with probable Arabic cognates. Most of these words also have cognates in other Semitic languages, chiefly Canaanite and Aramaic, some of which were noted. More than a hundred words were listed as lacking Arabic cognates, although plausible, even convincing Arabic cognates could be adduced for some of the items thus listed. Al-Yasin neglected to note that a number of Ugaritic words appear to have cognates only in Arabic.

There is neither time nor space in the present circumstance to deal in detail with the approximately forty Ugaritic words for which cognates or peculiar meanings appropriate to the Ugaritic context are attested only in Arabic. Twenty or so such words will be noted, but time will permit discussion of only the more interesting and striking items. Examples will be adduced roughly alphabetically.

The Ugaritic temporal particle IDK,« then», is composed of three common demonstrative elements (the deictic elements of Semitic of which demonstrative particles are composed in various combinations are A H, *D* Z , L , N , K), Aramaic has the combination AIYDdeK but it serves simply as the demonstrative« this, that, the other.» The temporal sense of Ugaritic IDK,« then, thereupon,» manifestly connects it with Arabic '*dda*ka. ARY. This vocable occurs more than 30 times in Ugaritic as a noun meaning« children siblings kin,» or the like. The verb is used twice in the Bible, once of plundering a vineyard, Psalm 80:13, parallel with lines that speak of pigs and other animals feeding on the ravaged vineyard. In the Song of Songs 5:1 the verb is used in parallelism with STY,« drink», accordingly the meaning is« eat». In Arabic the root is connected with honey, rain, and eating, especially of animals eating at the same supply. The secret word behind Samson's riddle, « from the eater came eats From the strong came sweets» is the root ARY which has all the meanings required by the answer,« what is sweeter than honey ? What is stronger than a lion? » .

The word USN,« gift,» as in the couplet UDM YTNT IL WUSN AB ADM « Udum is the present of El Gift of the Father of Humankind,» (14 (KRT) 3. 136), is cognate with Arabic A (W) S. (Text references are given parenthetically according to the system of R.E. Whitaker, *A Concordance of the Ugatitic Literature*, Harvard Press, 1972). This root is not in use in the Bible, except in the name of YeHoWAaS YoWAaS,« YaHW has given».

The imperative BH*T* occurs twice in Ugatitic in Baal's servile response to Mot: BH*T* (L) BN ILM MY OBDK AN WDOLMK,« Rejoice (0) divine Mot Your slave am I, yours eternally,» (5(67) 2,11,19). The Arabic cognate is *bahata* « receive with joy. »

The meaniung of Ugaritic BRLT has never been in doubt since it occurs at least nine times as a synonym of NPS in the senses of «soul» and «appetite». Efforts to locate a Semitic etymology or cognate, mostly from Akkadian, have not been convincing. Among the derivations which have been proposed are Akkadian *billurtu*, « cross. » The supposed shift in meaning from « cross » to « person» Albright supported by appeal to *taw*« cross–mark» as a means of identification in Job 31:35. Akkadian *piristu pirištu*, « secret », has been proposed, as has also Akkadian *balatu*,« life.» The supposed change of *balatu* to Ugaritic BRLT assumes the nominal *qattaltu*, i, e. *ballattu*, with dissimilation of *ll* to *rl* and assimilation of *lt* to *tt*. Finally the effort has been made to connect Ugaritic BRLT with Akkadian *merestu mereltu*, from the verb eresu «ask, crave, desire.» While this must be acknowledged as the best of the efforts to provide an Akkadian derivation for Ugaritic BRLT, it is far from satisfactiory or convincing. A plausible Arabic cognate has benn overlooked in the obsolete nouns *bura'il* and *bur'ula-t* which are explained by lexicographers as designating the neck feathers (ufra-t) of the rooster and male bustard. The denominative verbs *ibra'-alla* and *tabar'ala* relate to the puffing of the neck feathers when the male bird is aroused for fighting. Presumably the same verbs would apply to sexual arousal. A sobriquet (*kunya-t*) of the rooster is Abu Bura'il. Some savants suggest that *ibra'alla* may be used of human preparation for evil activity of unspecified nature. The only apparent phonological impediment to the equation of Ugaritic BRLT and Arabic *bura'il*, *bur'ula-t* is the *hamza* as glottal stop, but this is a mere bagatelle since the hamza is a secondary development in Arabic, as in *risala-t rasa'il* or *jazira-t jaza'ir*. The *hamza* in the verbal form *ibra'alla* is similarly a secondary development common in poetic forms of verbal stem XI, *i'-allaf* the long *a* becoming *a'a if a'alla.*

The senses of Arabic *br(')l-t* connected with the puffing neck feathers of an aroused rooster comports with the primitive meaning of its synonym NaPSu, « throat,» which developed the sense of« appetite, desire,« including sexual desire». The sexua lsense of NPS is attested both in Ugaritic and the Bible (Proverbs 19:2) and also in Arabic in the Sufi use of *nafs* to designate carnal or non–spiritual human desire. (See article to appear in *Ugarit–Forschungen* 12.)

Turning to the third letter of the alphabet, here is a synonym of NPS which finds closer counterpart in Arabic than in Akkadian. The word is GNGN and it occurs in a context suggesting an interior part of the body connected with

talking or thinking to one's self. Accordingly, Arabic *janjan* or *jinjin*, related to the chest or breast seems preferable to Akkadian *gangannu* meaning« potstand» or « storeroom (for beer) » .

YQRA MT BNPSH Mot calls in his soul throat,

YSTRN YDD BDD BGNGNH The Beloved thinks in his inwards. (4 (51) 7.49). Although Mot's abode is the netherworld, there is nothing to suggest that NPS means« tomb» here or anywhere else. As I think I have shown elsewhere, (MAARAV 1 (1978), 25–31) NPS is later used of funerary monuments, even a monument for a dog, but not of the tomb itself.

We pass over some letters of alphabet, not because there are not words to be considered, but because some examples are more interesting than others.

For the letter D we mention hastily the Ugaritic DTRQ which occurs three times parallel to HLK,« transit » in describing the rapid approach of a deity. Ugaritic TDRQ,« onrush,» undoubtedly corresponds to the Arabic *masdar* of the second stem *tadriq*. Akkadian *durgu*,« remote region,» and *daraggu*, « path,» may be related to Ugaritic and Arabic DRQ, but only Arabic *daraqa*, « hasten,» supplies the sense suitable to the Ugaritic use of Tadriq.

For the letter H there is one striking example. The word HDG occurs (12 (75) 1.18) along with KSAN, a chair of some sort, and HTL,« swaddling bands,» paraphernalia which maidservants of the goddless are ordered to take with them to the desert where they are to give birth to creatures called« Eaters» (AKLM) and Rippers (OQQM), or perhaps refractory, disobedient ones. These creatures have horns like bulls and humps like a buffalo, and the face of Baal. Incidentally, the term OQQM is another word for which a plausible cognate is found only in Arabic *aqqa*, « be refractory». To return to HDG, the obstetrical context and mention of chair and swaddling bands suggest that HDG is cognate with Arabic *hidaja-t*, « saddle,» or« litter» as a piece of obstetrical equipment « birthstool» seems the likely meaning.

In the same text in which we find the word HDG there is another interesting lexical connection with Arabic. The word YLY is used as a parallel synonym to AH,« brother,» in the couplet SR AHYH MZAH WMZAH SR YLYH. (12 (75) 2.52) (The one found by his brothers is Baal Hadd who had apparently been felled by the aforementioned bovine Eaters.) The word YLYH, in synonymous parallelism with AHYH, «his brother(s),» is manifestly to be connected with Arabic *waliy(y)* in the sense of « close relative».

More than a dozen times Ugaritic uses forms of the root YSM WSM denoting «beauty», often in association with other synonyms, especially NOM. Most

striking is the mythological fragment which tells us that the goddess Anat ate her brother's flesh without a knife and drank his blood without a cup because he was beautiful: ONT HLKT WSNWT TP AHH WNOM AHH KYSMSM TSPI SIRH LBL HRB TST DMH LBL KS. (RS 225.1) Here we have three different words for beauty, the first two having cognates in both Canaanite and Arabic, but the last only in Arabic *wasm*.

While on the letter Y mention should be made the two vocative particles of Ugaritic *Ya* and *la*, both of which are shared by Arabic which may use them together, *ya la Zaid*, 'O Zaid', Some scholars are skeptical about supposed vocative *La* in the Bible. *Y*, as far as I know, has not been alleged to occur as a vocative particle in the Bible.

Under L there are at last two striking Ugaritic words with cognates only in Arabic. The most common compound designation of the chief god of Ugarit is LTPN IL DPID, i.e. « Kindly God, He of Heart.» *Latif* is one of the attributes of Allah and the nound of PID is cognate with Arabic *fu'ad*, heart, mind . This characterization of the chief of the Ugaritic pantheon is in meaning roughly equivalent to the Quranic compound *al-rahman al-rahum*, «merciful, compassionate» .

The word LSB occurs four times in Ugaritic applied once to the aperture into which one puts medicine and thrice to that which is opened when one laughs: YPRQ LSB WYSHQ He spread (his) mouth and laughed, thus the meaning is part or whole of the oral apparatus. In Arabic *lisb* is used of a cleft in a mountain, a valley or a mountain pass.

The verb MZO is twice used with reference to Danel's clothing in demonstration of grief at the death of his son Aqhat. The obvious meaning is « ripe » or « tear » in view of the ancient custom of ripping one's raiment in grief and mourning. Arabic seems only other resource which has a verb *maza a* in the sense « tear, rip ».

When Baal and Mot fight following Baal's return to life, their various modes of assault on each other are come pared to combat of animals, they gore (NGH) like oxen, they bite (NTK) like serpents, and they MSH like LSMM (some swift animal, Akkadian *lasamu*). The verb MSH need not be related to MHS, « strike» (Arabic mhd,« beat, churn milk») but with Arabic *msh* meaning « pull out, take out,» which does not seem appropriate to the collision of swift animals, but one may recall that Arabic verbs are not infrequently attested in dramatically opposite senses.

Under the letter N we may offer at least three Ugaritic verbs that have Arabic cognates only. The verb NBD occurs just once but with the patent sense

« copulate» . Since the D may represent interdental d, and since B and P interchange in Ugaritic, there is no reason to refrain from connecting NBD with Arabic *nafada*, « pierce,» even though that verb is not cited in the dictionaries as having sexual connotations.

Two verbs used of shaking and trembling in fear, NTT and NOS, both have cognates in Arabic *natta* and *nagada*.

The noun NPS occurs frequently as a generic form « clothing » which is worn (LBS), or washed (RHS). It is Arabic *nafada* unless it be in the sense oi what is shaken off or falls off.

Among words beginning with O(ᶜayn) we may take note of ODM which is used three times in succession in the Rephaim text RS 34.126, first treated by Caquot, which belongs to the catagory of « Rephaim Texts» relating to sacrifices for the deified ancestors. The relavent lines are:

WYMO TDM ONH LPNH Let him weep, let his eye flow before him.

YBKY TLHN ML (A) Let him weep a table fu(ll)

WYBLO UDMOTH ODMT Let him swallow his bitter tears.

ODMT WODMT TDMT Bitter, bitter the stammering.

The several meanings of Arabic *adim*, « fail, be lacking, appropriate for tears, hence the guess « bitter, vehement », or the like. There seems no other recourse than Arabic for a « root » ODM. The word TDMT following the three occurences of ODMT (if the reading T is correct) may be connected with Arabic *tadm* « stammerer » which is fairly appropriate for the blubbering that may accompany prolonged weeping.

The verb OTK is used of attaching heads to the body as trophies of war during Anat's massacre of mankind:

OTKT RIST LBMTH She attached heads to her back.

SNST KPT BHBSH She girded hands to her waist. (3 NT) 2.11).

The verb *eteku* in Akkadian means to be « alert» and it is not certain whether the initial consonant was h orᶜ . In Arabic *ataka* has a variety of meanings, « attack, do or bring to someone anything good or bad, be haughly and refractory toward the husband», but the sense suitable to the passage under consideration is « adhere, stick to», which in the factitive stem would give the sense « attach». It is noteworthy that the parallel word SNST occurs once in the Bible as a variant of the usual verb HGR in the expression « gird» (the loins I).

The root ROT is thrice used in the expression MROTM TD, « those who suck the breast, » (4(51)3.41,4.13.6.56) as a term for the gods collectively as nurslings of the mother goddess Athirat. In the poem called« The Birth of the Beautiful Gods,» the newborn gods are twice called YNQM BAP TD ST ATRT «those who suck at the nipple of the breast of the Lady Athirat.» (23(52) 24,59,61) Nursing from the same breasts, like eating from the same manger, indicated closest kinship as in the Song of Songs 8:1, « O that you were as my brother Who sucked the breasts of my mother.» In addition to the verb « suck, suckle, » Arabic applies the root to udders, *rugatawan*. The root appears to have fallen into disuse in Arabic since in a group of about a hundred students at the University of Damascus only one knew the word as used in his village with reference to lambs.

Ugaritic SBM occurs both as verb and noun. Anat boasts LISTBM TNN ISTMLH, « I muzzled the Dragon, I compassed him her (?)». (3(NT)33) Both verbs SBM and SML (in the Gt stem corresponding to the VIIIth conjugation of Arabic) have only Arabic cognates in the senses demended by the context of the Ugaritic. The noun SiBaM,« muzzlz» or the like, occurs in a mythological fragment which recounts Anat's muzzling of the sea monster, TNN LSBM TST TRKS LMRYM LB (NN),«Dragon to muzzle she put, she bound (him) to the heights of Leb(anon).» (1003.8) The Arabic use of SBM with refercnce to gagging rather than muzzling a kid to prevent it from sucking is no compelling argument against the Ugaritic use apparently in the sense of muzzle. The verb SML in the VIIIth form in Arabic has the meaning« surround, encompass» which comports with the action of gagging and muzzling a monster.

The title ST,« Lady,» Arabic *sitt*, is several times applied to the goddess Anat. The goddess' henchman YTPN (whom she used as a guided air-to-ground missile to kill the young hero Aqhat) is called MHR ST,« Soldier of the Lady,» i.e.« Soldier of Anat.» (19(1AQHT) 4.6,219,221) (The expression MHR BOL WMHR ONT,« soldier(s) of Baal and soldiers of Anat,» occurs twice in the Rephaim texts (22.1(123).7 and 22.2(124).8).

The significance of the fact that Ugaritic has some striking exclusive lexical affinities with Arabic is problematic, but the practical lesson for the Ugaritologist is patent. It is advisable always to look to Arabic as well as to Canaanite, Aramaic, Akkadian, and sometimes even Ethiopic, for cognates and special meanings of Ugaritic words, since Arabic provides the most extensive and varied literature and is our richest depository of Semitic vovabulary. It is especially prudent to look to Arabic for possible help with difficult words and those that find no plausible cognates elsewhere, as the preceding samples monstrate.

Paolo Matthiae
« La Sapienza » University - Rome

The Culture of Ebla and the Palestinian Archaeology in Historical Perspective

The archaeological research is essentially and basically a historical research. The materials that derive from it, in architectural works in specifically archaeological artifacts, and in written documents, are the evidence that leads us to build the historical interpretation. However, the interpretation of the archaeological evidence as a historical documentation is not necessarily a univocal one: it can even sensibly change according to the perspective one follows. In fact, the problem of the perspective is fundamental, and can sometimes create some préjudice. On the contrary, the tools of the historical criticism are different according to the various historiographic questions one may ask oneself, and to which one tries to answer with the help of the documents. The different critical tools imply different questions and answers; however, all of them can be valid if the research methods are correctly employed.

On the contrary, the problem of the perspective of the research is a basic choice, that comes before the choice of the critical tools. In fact, like any other research dealing with man's remote and recent past, archaeology may follow either a historical or a teleologic perspective. The historical perspective can employ different critical methods, that is tools, but it always aims at reconstructing the complex process of the development of mankind, with its multiple interconnections. The teleologic perspective can employ methods, that are typical of the historical perspective, but it is basically different from the latter. In fact, in the teleologic perspective, the historical reconstruction is subordinate to a revealed truth.

Now, in the Palestinian archaeology, the historical and the teleologic perspectives are respectively the basis of two trends: the so - called Near Eastern Archaeology, and the so - called Biblical Archaeology. In the perspective of the Biblical Archaeology, the archaeological evidence, and the historical events of the cultures of the ancient Near East, are evaluated in function of a religious event, that is God's revelation. This teleologic perspective is characterized by a typical pseudo - historical way of thinking,

that is really anti - historical. In fact, it considers that the religious aspects, the linguistic characteristics, and the social peculiarities, of the historical cultures of the ancient Near East, are the forerunners of presumed similar aspects, characteristics, and peculiarities, evidence of which is found in the Bible. According to this idea, which is the base of the Biblical Archaeology, the historical cultures of the ancient Near East must be studied in order to throw more light over a milieu, which is considered the historical, geographic, and cultural background where God's revelation took place, from the Patriarch's age, to the Exodus, to the Prophets' period. Basically, the study of the cultures of the ancient Near East would lead us to understand better this extraordinary event of God's revelation. But, according to the Biblical Archaeology, the historical cultures of the ancient Near East are the darkness, that is brightened here and there by faint lights, while the true light is God's revelation.

In the perspective of the Near Eastern archaeology, on the contrary, the historical events, and also the archeological evidence, are considered in themselves. They are the expressions of the human civilization. According to this perspective, there are no predetermined values, or values that are more relevant, because they have been revealed. In fact, the main aim of the historical research, is just to formulate judgements, and to define the values. The relations among the cultures, the influences of one culture on the other, the forerunners of the cultural phenomena, are not taken into consideration only in one way, in function of a culture that is thought to be a privileged one. They are examined according to different directions of research, in order to include in the most comprehensible possible way all the cultures that are affected by reciprocal relations. For the Near Eastern Archaeology, each culture has to be studied in itself, within the frame of the other cultures. There are no extraordinary events; there is not the light of one culture, opposed to the darkness of the others.

In a very schematic way, we can say that the Biblical Archaeology always pays attention to God, because God is thought to be a protagonist in history. In the Historical Archaeology attention is paid only to Man, because Man is thought to be the protagonist. For the Biblical Archaeology the great historical events of the so-called biblical times, are God's revelation to Abraham, and God's revelation to Moses. For the Near Eastern Archaeonlogy, the great historical events of the preclassical age are the neolithic revolution, and the foundation of the urban culture.

In the most recent years, the archaeological evidence, but particularly the textual evidence from Ebla, was the object of speculations, that were

formulated according to the typical perspective of the Biblical Archaeology. The main subject of these pseudo - historical considerations was the presence of a forerunner or of a prefiguration of biblical themes, or of cultural elements that appear in the Bible. Thus, the language of Ebla was believed to be a sort of proto - Hebrew, while Eblaite is an archaic Semitic language, which is quite similar to Old Akkadian, as concerns its morphology; it has, moreover, some typical lexical elements, which are common to other north - west Semitic languages. Some names of cities, that are mentioned in the Ebaite texts were identified with Palestinian centres, from Megiddo to Shechem, Jerusalem, and Gaza, and even to the mythical cities of Sodom, and Gomorrah. On the contrary, the place names of the texts of Ebla, belong only to cities of northern Syria, of northern Mesopotamia, and quite rarely of northern Babylonia. The southernmost city so far mentioned for certain in the Eblaite texts is Hama. Typical endings of the Semitic personal names, which are already well attested at Ugarit, and appear in the texts of Ebla, were thought to be the proofs of the presence at Ebla of a god Yahweh. They imagineda sort of enotheism in the religion of Ebla, while a god Yahweh or Ya is never attested in the frequent lists of offerings to gods of the Eblaite Archives. The ya that appears both at the beginning, and at the end of the personal names must certainly be explained only in purely linguistical terms. It was maintained that among the texts of the Archives of Ebla, there are a literary text astonishingly similar to the biblical tale of the Creation, and a mythical text with astounding analogies to the biblical story of the Flodd. Well, these text sdo not exist in the Archives of Ebla. It was maintained that deliveries of oil, which are frequently mentioned in the economic texts of Ebla, together with deliveries of clothes, concerned the rite of the anointment of the king. This habit would have been the same as the one that is mentioned by the biblical texts for ancient Israel. On the contrary, in the Eblaite texts, there are quite frequent deliveries of cosmetic oil to different kinds of persons, who have no specific relation with the king. Judges are quite often mentioned among the officials of the palace administration of Ebla, and it has been maintained that they played a role in the government of the great third millennium B.C. city, like the biblical Judges of Israel. But, in the Early Syrian city, the head of the community was the king, called en in the Sumerian writing of Ebla; he is assisted by some high officials, called lugal at Ebla, while the judges most probably had only specific juridical functions, as happens in the contemporary urban culture of Sumer and Akkad.

Clearly, these pseudo-historical interpretations do not have any foundation, and are totally false. The alleged proto - Hebrew character of Eblaite, the alleged mention of the Palestinian cities of Sodom and Gomorrah

in the texts of Ebla, the alleged presence of Yahweh in the Eblaite archives, the alleged role of the judges at Ebla, the alleged existence of the royal anointment in the Eblaite texts, are an astounding complex of false interpretations. Here the linguistic and historical superficiality is most evident. However, they were diffused and maintained by some scientific milieus, with a astounding stubborness, after they had been published first in the press, then in scientific articles, in both cases without the authorization of the Italian Expedition at Ebla. Meanwhile, the international scholarly community kept a correct behaviour of prudent reserve; it waited in order to check in the yet unpublished epigraphic material of Ebla the presumable groundlessness of these misinterpretations. At the same time, a peculiar net of misunderstandings and speculations developed in the mass media; they reached delirious and grotesque tones. However, these speculations had a wide resonance, although we cannot recall them in detail here. Only in order to show what ridiculous absurdities the international press managed to conceive, we want to recall here two examples: first, an important British newspaper literally called the Early Bronze IVA Ebla, « a stronghold of early Hebrew culture » (!) ; then, the American press spread the news that the Syrian authorities literally had ordered the destruction « of the Ebla tablets(!) ». In the face of such absurd, ridiculous, and false statements, it is perfectly clear that, in dealing with the discovery of Ebla, some sholars, particularly G. Pettinato, carry a heavy responsibility in the sphere of ethical behaviour, which has led to completely unfounded political speculations in the international press.

Now, in a historical perspective, on the contrary, the extraordinary revelation of the Early Syrian culture of Ebla of IIIrd millennium B.C., and the noteworthy increase of the knowledge about the Old Syrian culture of Ebla of the first half of IInd millennium B.C., change deeply our interpretation of the historical development of the cultures of the ancient Near East from the beginning of the urban culture to the end of Middle Bronze around 1600 B.C. A first problem of great interest has been opened by the discovery of the high urban culture of Ebla of Early Bronze IVA, namely the problem of the function northern Syria had in the relations between southern Mesopotamia and Palestine in the protohistorical period. It thas not been considered so far that there was a direct relation between Sumer in the Uruk period and Palestine and Egypt, through inner Syria. This hypothesis becomes now a possibility, which can also be proved by evidence. The relevant urban settlements of the late Uruk period in the region of Lake Assad, that are Habuba Kebirah/Qannas and Jebel Aruda, are not isolated; long the upper course of the Euphrates other centres of the same period have been singled out, like Lidar Höyük, and Hanek Höyük, reaching Arslantepe, near Mala-

tya. The sites of Habuba/Qannas, and Aruda, look like true Sumerian colonies along the Euphrates, while the presence of bevelled rim bowls, although rare, up to Hama, shows the diffusion at least of Sumerian protohistorical administrative practices, also in upper Syria. At Ebla, some institutional peculiarities typical of protohistorical Uruk, and some handicraft techniques of the late Uruk period are still found during Early Bronze IVA, and they prove that the Early Syrian culture of Ebla could descend from strong Sumerian influences. Moreover it cannot be excluded that a real colonization by Sumer took place in limited regions of northern Syria, which were ecologically suitable; such could have been the lake - areas, and the marshes of the Math and the Siha, along the Nahr Quweyq course. Certainly the most typical local elements of the Early Syrian culture emerged during the development of the Early Bronze period. These are quite evident mostly in the personal names, and in religion. So, the direct evidence of the centres in the Euphrates valley, and the indirect evidence of Ebla, confirm in the substance the protohistorical relations between Sumer and Palestine, and the role the northern Syria played during Amuq G. In this phase, in fact, we find here, as in Palestine and Egypt, the tilted spout vessels, and other types of Late Uruk origin.

Second, the discovery of the Eblaite archives offers unexpected data, which are quite inportant for the definition of the ethno-linguistic structure of Syria during IIIrd millennium B.C. They can also contribute to solve the problem of the probable unity of population in Syria and Palestine during Early Bronze IVA. The Administrative texts of the State Archives of Ebla are the unequivocal evidence of the presence of a homogeneous people in the city, and in the area related with it, from the Balikh River to Hama, and perhaps to Homs. In fact, the Eblaite personal names are all archaic Semitic, but not Amorite names. Now, serveral hints about the place names of Syria and Palestine, lead us to believe that really also in the Palestinian area the most ancient Semitic presence was that of groups of Semites, speaking a very archaic language. Thus, the linguistic elements of Amorite were probably innovative phenomena of the North-West Semitic area. Therefore, it is most likely that a very archaic, pre-Amorite, and unitarian population was the protagonist of the foundation of the urban culture of Syria and Palestine, since the beginning of III rd millennium B.C.

Third the archaeological evidence of Mardikh IIB1 sets yet another problem, as concerns the relations between Syria and Palestine during Early Bronze IV. In fact, Mardikh IIB1 was the greatest centre of a high urban culture of northern Syria, that was destroyed around 2300-2250 B.C. The same happened with Hama J8-6, that is contemporary with it. But,

at Ebla itself, as well as at Hama J 5–1, and in many cities of northern Syria, a late development of the same great urban culture took place during Early Bronze IVB, perhaps until about 2000 B.C., without a general crisis of the settlements. Particularly the connections of the ceramic culture of inner central Syria and Palestine, from Megiddo to Transjordan, are certain in this phase. But, this is the phase, which is also called Intermediate Period, for the apparent serious crisis of the urban settlements of Palestine. It was supposed that these relations depended on the displacement of semi-nomadic groups from central Syria to Transjordan, but this is quite unlikely. The relations between these two regions must be evaluated with the clear awareness that the economic base of the high Early Syrian Ebla of the third fourth of IIIrd millennium B. C., was quite different from that of Palestine of Early Bronze III. As the Archives show, in that period Ebla flourished because it controlled directly or indirectly, the supply of basic raw materials from the mountains of Syria and Anatolia. Certainly Ebla economy was based on its relations with northern Mesopotamia and northern Babylonia, from the land of Subartu, to the land of Akkad. Therefore, the destruction of Ebla was a successful attempt by Akkad to free the upper course of the Euphrates from the political control of Ebla. The flourishing of the Palestinian area during Early Bronze III is certainly foreign to these interests. Therefore, it is most unlikely, although it can be proposed, that the temporary crisis of the culture of Early Bronze IVA of northern Syria, provoked first a weakening, and then a collapse, of the culture of Early Bronze III of Palestine. The problem of the relation between Early Bronze IVB of Syria and the Intermediate Period of Early Bronze IV–Middle Bronze I of Palestine, is so far an open question. However, we must take into due account the different situation of the urban centres in the two regions, when we are evaluating this problem. Fourth, the Old Syrian culture of Ebla of Middle Bronze I–II, between 2000 and 1600 B. C., has closer relations with the culture that appears at the same time in Palestine. Really, Ebla flourished during the archaic and mature phases of the Middle Bronze I age of Syria. It surely was one of the most important and largest urban centres of the great culture of the period of the Amorite dynasties in Syria and Palestine. At Ebla we already find in Middle Bronze I the basic elements of the architectural culture that are particularly typical of the Middle Bronze IIB–C, the so-called Hyksos period, in Palestine : the imposing fortifications with earthenwork ramparts, the city gates with three pairs of buttresses, the high temples with single cella, the tripartite temples with long cella. There is also a very large correspondence of cultural elements with specific regional variants : the morphologies of the ceramic production, the typologies of the bronze implements, and of the gold jewels. All this leads to believe that a basic cultural unity connects the centres of Syria and Palestine, from Aleppo

to Gaza, during the phases of Middle Bronze I–II of Syria, and of Middle Bronze IIA–C of Palestine. In this historical perspective, the high archaic Old Syrian urban culture is probably of some decades older than the slow reconstruction of the Middle Bronze IIA culture of Palestine. It was founded at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. after the destructions that put an end to the late Early Syrian culture. Therefore, it is quite probable that the renaissance of great centres like Ebla, Aleppo, Karkemish, and Qatna, in northern Syria, at the beginning of Middle Bronze I, had a great influence on the foundation of the major centres of Palestine of Middle Bronze II, the greatest of which was Hazor. The classical Old Syrian culture of northern Syria marked in a very strong way all the cultural developments in the Syrian area until the Hellenistic period. Its basic meaning for the problem of the relations between Syria and Palestine in Middle Bronze II, is quite clear. The Palestinian area during the mature Old Syrian period was a flourishing but peripheral province of the high culture of northern Syria during the age of the Amorite dynasties. This was also recently demonstrated by the comparisons between the artifacts found in the princely tombs of Ebla and the slightly later hoards of Tell Ajjul-Sharuhen.

In conclusion, and in very general terms, the relations between the cultures of northern Syria and Palestine were different during the two great phases of the history of Ebla - the high Early Syrian period, ca. 2400–2300 / 2250 B. C. , Mardikh IIB1, and the archaic Old Syrian period, ca. 2000/1900 – 1800 B. C., Mardikh IIIA. During the great flourishing of Mardikh IIB1, in the third quarter of the III millennium B.C., the economic and cultural relations of the age of Ebla of the State Archives, are mainly with northern Mesopotamia and northern Babylonia, and the main route of communication with Egypt was through the harbours on the Mediterranean coast, between Byblos and Ugarit. It is possible, but it is far from being proved, that the crisis of the urban culture of Early Bronze III Palestine had some relation with the destruction of the upper Syria culture by the Akkad kings. In this archaic phase of the development of the urban culture, in very general lines, there is no doubt that northern Syria had close relations with northern Mesopotamia, and that Palestine is rather linked with Egypt. On the contrary, during the phase of Middle Bronze I in northern Syria, exactly when Ebla reached again the position as the main urban centre of inner Syria, the very ancient foundations were set for that widespread cultural unity of the Syrian area between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea, between the Taurus Mountains and the Syro - Arabian Desert. The great urban culture which developed in northern Syria between 2000/1900 and 1800 B. C. reached during the age of the political prevalence of Aleppo–Yamkhad, betweeen 1800 and 1600 B. C., its characteristics of basic unity,

with only some secondary elements of regional subdivision, from northern Syria to southern Palestine. This basic historical phase was dominated by the political predominance of the Amorite dynasties in Syria and in Palestine, and is the first great historical period of deep cultural unity in the Syro-Palestinian area. This geographic and cultural unity marked deeply this wide geographical area and continued to be so deeply felt in the historical conscience of the Arab Nation.

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Michael Meinecke

Deutsches Archäologisches Institut – Damascus

Die Erneurung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī*

Die Stadt al-Quds/Jerusalem ist durch eines der am besten erhaltenen Altstadtzentren der islamischen Welt ausgezeichnet[1], dessen heutige altertümliche Erscheinung nicht nur durch die mittelalterlichen Entwicklungsphasen, sondern ganz wesentlich auch durch die Bautätigkeit des Osmanensultans Sulaimān I. Qānūnī (dem Gesetzgeber) (regiert 926/1520–974/1566) geprägt ist. Erst durch diesen wohl bedeutendsten Osmanenherrscher wurde kurz nach der Eingliederung von Syrien and Palästina in das osmanische Großreich (922/1516) die Reaktivierung der lange Zeit - von 492/1099 bis 583/1187 und nochmals kurzfristig von 626/1229 bis 642/1244 - von den Kreuzfahrern besetzten Stadt als islamisches Wallfahrtszentrum abgeschlossen. Zwar hatten bereits die Aiyūbiden, allen voran der Rückeroberer der Heiligen Stadt, an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (Saladin) Yūsuf (564/1169-589/1193) und dann die Mamluken (658 / 1260 – 922/1516) durch zahlreiche neu gegründete Sakralbauten sowie Umbauten und Restaurierungen der zentralen Wallfahrtsstätten, der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḥra (Felsendom) und dem Ǧāmiʿ al-Aqṣā, zum islamischen Charakter der Stadt wesentliches beigetragen[2], doch erst unter Sulaimān I. wurde al-Quds/Jerusalem in einem umfassenden Erneuerungsprogramm systematisch ausgebaut.

Für dieses auffallende Engagement des osmanischen Sultans gibt der türkische Autor Ewliyā Çelebī, anläßlich der Schilderung seines Besuchs von al-Quds/Jerusalem im Ramaḍān des Jahres 1082/1.–30.1.1672 in seiner Reisebeschreibung folgende aufschlußreiche Erklärung (hier zitiert in der englischen Übersetzung von St. H. Stephan)[3]:

> « In the year [926/1520] Sultan Suleiman acceded to the throne, conquered the fortress of Belgrade [927/1521] and later on the island of Rhodes [928/1522] ... and accumulated thereby immense wealth. When he became an independent king, the Prophet [Muḥammad] appeared to him in a 'blessed night' and told him : 'O Suleiman, you ... will make many conquests ... You should spend these spoils on embellishing Mecca and Medina, and for the fortification of the citadel of Jerusalem, in order to repulse the unbelievers, when they attempt to take posses-

sion of Jerusalem during the reigns of your followers. You should also embellish its Sanctuary with a water-basin and offer annual money gifts to the dervishes there, and also embellish the Rock of Allah and rebuild Jerusalem'[4]. – Such being the order of the Prophet, Suleiman Khan at once rose from his sleep and sent from his spoils one thousand purses to Medin and another thousand purses to Jerusalem. Together with the required material he dispatched the master architect Qoja Sinān to Jerusalem, and transferred Lalé Mustafa Pasha from the governorship of Egypt to that of Syria[5]. – [This latter] having been ordered to carry out the restoration of Jerusalem, gathered all the master builders, architects, and sculptors available in Cairo, Damascus, and Aleppo and sent them to Jerusalem to rebuild it and to embellish the Holy Rock...».

Diese ausführliche Erläuterung der intensiven Bautätigkeit Sulaimān I. in al-Quds/Jerusalem mag zwar nicht in allen Einzelheiten historisch verifizierbar sein, doch spiegelt sie ungebrochen nicht nur den an den erhaltenen Bauten der Stadt selbst nachweisbaren, über mehr als vier Jahrzehnte andauernden Ausbau der Stadt, sondern gibt darüber hinaus auch deutliche Hinweise auf die Motivationen der einzelnen Baumaßnahmen.

I. Maqām an-Nabī Dāwūd

Die erste nachweisbare Baumaßnahme des Sultans in al-Quds/ Jerusalem ist die Umgestaltung der Kapelle des Abendmahls außerhalb des Bāb an-Nabī Dāwūd in eine Moschee *(masǧid)*[6]. Dieser im Umfang sehr bescheidene Umbau, der am 1. Rabīʿ I 930/8. 1. 1524 vollendet wurde, läßt bereits deutlich ein wesentliches, auch von Ewliyā Çelebī angeführtes Hauptthema des herrschaftlichen Bauprogramms in al-Quds / Jerusalem anklingen: die Islamisierung der Heiligen Stadt. Wie die arabische Bauinschrift[7] ausdrücklich vermerkt, sollte nämlich die ursprünglich einem Franziskanerkloster einbezogene Kapelle, in deren Anraum nach einer alten Tradition auch das Grab des Königs David verehrt wurde, mit dem Umbau für den Islam adaptiert und damit von den Ungläubigen befreit werden.

Bei den islamischen Bauteilen, die nachträglich offenbar mehrfach verändert wurden, bilden rahmende Zahnschnittfriese an Türen, Bögen und Fenstern das dominierende Dekormotiv (Abb. 1). Diese auffallende Rahmenform verweist auf eine enge Verbindung mit der Bauschule von Aleppo, zumal dort identische Zahnschnittborten seit dem frühen 9./15. Jahrhundert bis zum Ende der Mamlukenzeit, wie zum Beispiel am 916/ 1510 erbauten Ḫan al-Qaṣṣabīya, zum Standardrepertoire gehören[8].

II. Ḥaram aš-Šarīf

Ein wesentlicher Teil der herrschaftlichen Baumaßnahmen ist der Restaurierung und Ausstattung des Ḥaram aš-Šarīf, dem Heiligen Bezirk der islamischen Stadt gewidmet. Interessanterweise wird der Sultan bereits in der Inschrift des in die letzte Dekade des Monats Šaᶜbān 933/22.–31.5. 1527 datierten, von Qāsim Pāšā erbauten Sabīl Bāb al - Maḥkama als zweiter Salomon *(ṯāni Sulaimān)* bezeichnet[9]. Das ist zwar in erster Linie als eine von dem Namen des Sultans angeregte historische Angleichung zu verstehen, doch gibt diese naheliegende Parallele auch einen Hinweis auf die Motivation des herrschaftlichen Bauherrn gerade hier, am Platz des Salomonischen Tempels die traditionsreichen islamischen Heiligtümer zu reaktivieren.

1. Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra

Die ersten größeren baulichen Maßnahmen des Sultans sind für das zentrale Heiligtum, den Felsendom belegt[10]. Nach einer nicht mehr in situ erhaltenen Inschrift wurde die Erneuerung der 36 Stuckglasfenster des äußeren Oktogons im Jahr 935/1528–29 vollendet[11]. Da die im Auftrag Sulaimāns erneuerte Ausstattung sich wohl kaum alleine auf die Fenster beschränkt haben dürfte, kann das überlieferte Datum für eine umfassende Restaurierung dieses ältesten frühislamischen Baudenkmals in Anspruch genommen werden[12].

Während der folgenden Jahrzehnte wird die Ausstattung im Auftrag des Sultans weiter vervollständigt. Im Stil der hauptstädtischen Großbauten erhielt der Außenbau in einem späteren Arbeitsgang eine Verkleidung aus farbigen Fayencen. Dabei kamen nicht nur mehrfarbige Fayencemosaiken und Glasurfarbenfliesen mit « toten Rändern » zur Anwendung, sondern auch unter farbloser Glasur bemalte Fliesen[13]. Diese Fayencedekoration kann zumindest teilweise mit einer 952/1545–46 datierten Inschrift am runden Außentambour[14] in Verbindung gebracht werden. Die Fayenceinschrift in Unterglasurmalerei am Nordportal (Abb. 2)[15] mit der Signatur eines īrānischen Künstlers, ᶜAbd Allāh at-Tabrīzī[16], für die wohl irrtümlich eine Datierung auf das Jahr 959 (?))/1551–52 angegeben wurde, gibt eine Erläuterung für diese eindeutig auf kostbare Wirkung hin angelegte Fliesenausstattung. Mit Hilfe des Fayencedekors sollte nämlich – unter Mitwirkung der fähigsten Architekten *(al-muhandisīn)* der Zeit – der alte Glanz der Anlage wiederhergestellt werden. In diesem Zusammenhang wird verständlich, daß Ewliyā Çelebī nicht nur die Schriftfriese der Fayenceverkleidung dem Kalligraphen Aḥmad Qara Ḥiṣārī (gest. 963/1556) zuweist[17], der auch an der Hauptmoschee des Sultans, der Süleymaniye Cami in Istanbul tätig war[18], sondern außerdem auch in der einleitend zitierten Passage den

osmanischen Chefarchitekten und Baumeister dieser Istanbuler Moschee, Qōcā Sinān (gest. 996/1588), mit den Baumaßnahmen des Sultans in al-Quds/Jerusalem in Verbindung bringt[19].

Allerdings kann angesichts der verschiedenen technischen Varianten des Fliesendekors angenommen werden, daß dieser ausnehmend reiche Fayencezyklus nicht in einem einzigen Arbeitsgang, sondern vielmehr in mehreren Phasen entstanden ist. Einen deutlichen Hinweis hierfür gibt die östlich neben dem Felsendom gelegene Qubbat as-Silsila[20]. Dort ist über der Gebetsnische eine annähernd 3 m lange, zweizeilige Fayenceinschrift (Abb.3) erhalten, die belegt, daß die Fliesenverkleidung *(al-kāšānī)* im Auftrag des Sultans Sulaimān im Jahr 969/1561–62 erneuert wurde[21]. Technisch entsprechen die Fliesen dieser Inschrift – mit weißer Schrift auf dunkelblauem Grund unter farbloser Glasur – der Fayencelünette des Nordportals der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra (Abb. 2). Es ist demnach naheliegend, das Datum der Restaurierungsinschrift der Qubbat as-Silsila auch auf die Ausstattung mit Unterglasurmalereifliesen des benachbarten Felsendoms zu übertragen[22]. Damit wäre für die letzte Ausstattungsphase der Fayenceverkleidung eine entwicklungsgeschichtlich einleuchtende Stelung in der Nachfolge der von 957/1550 bis 964/1557 erbauten Süleymaniye Cami in Istanbul[23] wahrscheinlich, an der erstmals Fliesen mit mehrfarbiger Unterglasurmalerei zur Anwendung gelangten[24]. Vermutlich war hierfür das Atelier verpflichtet worden, das den Fayencedekor der kurz zuvor, im Jahr 967/1560 vollendeten Takīya des Sultans Sulaimān in Damaskus angefertigt hatte[25].

Die dekorative Neuausstattung des Felsendoms war offenbar erst 972/1564–65 beendet, als im Auftrag des Sultans die mit Bronze inkrustierten Holztüren der Ost-und Westeingänge erneuert wurden[26].

Die fast vier Jahrzehnte andauernde Restaurierung der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra durch Sulaimān veranlaßte Ewliyā Çelebī zu folgender Bemerkung:

« As at present the Ottoman *pādishāh* is the most honoured and respected sovereign the world over... he has made this shrine a paradise unequalled on earth... For the sultan alone could be the possessor of the House of Allah»[27].

2. Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā

Parallel zum Felsendom wurde auch die Hauptmoschee des Ḥaram, der Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā[28], durch Sultan Sulaimān restauriert. Dies bezeugt eine verlorene Inschrift an einem der Innenfenster, für die allerdings das historisch unhaltbare Datum 996/1587–88 – über 20 Jahre nach dem Tod des Sultans - für die Vollendung der Restaurierungsmaßnahmen überliefert ist[29]. Es

erscheint naheliegend, dieses Datum auf 936/1529–30 zu korrigieren, zumal am Felsendom die Erneuerung der Glasfenster für 935/1528–29 belegt ist. Die ehemals wohl technisch verwandte Fensterinschrift des Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā konnte somit im unmittelbaren Anschluß an die erste Restaurierungsmaßnahme des Sultans im Ḥaram angefertigt worden sein.

Nach Ewliyā Çelebī wurden die Kuppel der Moschee und die Qibla durch den Sultan restauriert[30]. Für die Erneurung der Gebetsnische war nach seinen Angaben der legendäre Sarhoš ᶜAbdü verantwortlich, der auch an der Süleymaniye Cami in Istanbul für den Sultan Sulaimān tätig gewesen sein soll[31].

3. Restaurierung des Ḥaram und Einzelbauten

Aus dem überlieferten Text der Fensterinschrift des Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā ist zu erschließen, daß die vermutlich 936/1529–30 durchgeführte Restaurierung des Sultans Sulaimān nicht nur auf die Moschee beschränkt blieb, sondern sich auf den gesamten Heiligen Bezirk erstreckte. Dies besättigt auch Ewliyā Çelebī mit einer aufschlußreichen Passage:

«From... [the Aqṣā Mosque] one goes through a meadow over (a pavement of) two hundred paces of white unhewn marble flagstones, laid out by order of Sultan Suleiman (the Magnificent). Thence one directs one's steps to the huge marble water–basin, made of a single block according to Sultan Suleiman's own directions... a monument unequalled (for beauty) on earth. It is exquisite and occupies the centre of the platform»[32].

Die Zuschreibung des al-Kās genannten Brunnens[33] nördlich des Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā an den Sultan ist einleuchtend, zumal das kelchförmige Überlaufbecken formal dem kleineren Mittelbecken im Hof der 967/1560 vollendeten Takīya as-Sulaimānīya in Damaskus entspricht. Demnach dürfte auch die Nachricht von der Erneuerung des Steinplasters zwischen dem Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā und der Plattform mit dem Felsendom im Auftrag des Sultans zutreffen.

Im Zusammenhang mit dieser umfassenden Restaurierung des Ḥaram sind offenbar auch einige Einzelbauten errichtet worden. Das ist zum Beispiel bei den Nordwestkolonnaden naheliegend, die mit vier Bogenöffnungen den über eine Treppe gewährleisteten Zugang zur Plattform mit dem Felsendom markieren[34]. Diese Arkadenwand, die nach einer fragmentierten Restaurierungsinschrift[35] dem Sultan Sulaimān zugeschrieben werden kann, zeigt auffallenderweise wiederum jene charakteristischen Zahnschnittfriese (Abb. 4), die bereits bei den im Auftrag des Sultans durchgeführten Umbauten von 930/1524 des Maqām an-Nabī Dāwūd auftraten.

Ein identischer Zahnschnittfries dekoriert auch den anonymen kleinen, Qubbat al-Ḫiḍr genannten Pavillon auf sechs Säulen (Abb. 5)[36] südlich

nach Osten vorgeschobenen neuen Eingangstrakt (Abb. 12) erhielt, dauerhaft beendet.

In Anspielung auf den Gründer der Befestigung der Stadt wird der imperiale Bauherr in der Inschrift des neu errichteten Eingangsportals wiederum als zweiter Salomon *(Sulaimān aṯ-ṯānī)* bezeichnet und in deutlichem Bezug auf das Bauvorhaben als « Quelle der Sicherheit » gepriesen[46]. Darüber hinaus wird mit zwei Inschriftmedaillons darauf hingewiesen, daß der Sultan mit dieser Restaurierung auch das Erbe der mamlukischen Vorgänger angetreten hatte. Die dreizeiligen Inschriften – « (1) ᶜazza Allāhu (2) as-sulṭān Sulaimān (3) naṣrahu» und « (2) ᶜizz li-maulānā s-sulṭān al-malik al-Muẓaffar (1) Abu n-Naṣr Sulaimān Šāh (3) Ibn ᶜUṯmān ᶜazza naṣruhu»[47] – gleichen nämlich in Form und Formulierung den charakteristischen Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane[48].

Im Anschluß an die Restaurierung der Festung wurde 939/1532–33 in dem südwestlichen Eckturm der Zitadelle eine Moschee eingerichtet[49], die - nach dem Minbar neben der Gebetsnische zu schließen - auch als Freitagsmoschee Verwendung fand. Als weithin sichtbares Zeichen für die Dominanz des Islam ist das zugehörige Minarett zu interpretieren, das mit einem massiven runden Schaft über dem Südturm der Zitadelle aufragt[50]. Durch gliedernde bzw. rahmende Zahnschnittborten gibt sich dieses Minarett als ein Werk jener Bauhütte zu erkennen, die seit 930/1524 im Auftrag des Sultans in al-Quds/Jerusalem tätig war. Auffallend ist das kleine Rundfenster an der auf den Innenhof gerichteten Nordseite des Minarettschaftes (Abb. 14), das mit dem breiten Rahmen aus übergreifenden Kreisbogen ein aus der mamlukischen Architektur von Damaskus bekanntes Dekormotiv aufgreift[51].

IV. Wasserversorgung

Nach einer kurzen Baupause von wenigen Jahren anschließend an die erste Restaurierung des Heiligen Bezirks und die Reaktivierung der Zitadelle gab Sultan Sulaimān 943/1536 den Auftrag zu einem weiteren wichtigen Bauvorhaben, mit dem die Wasserversorgung der Stadt sichergestellt werden sollte[52]. Innerhalb von wenigen Monaten wurde der von des Birkat as-Sulṭān[53], dem Wasserreservoir südwestlich der Stadt herangeführte Kanal wiederhergestellt und mit fünf beim bzw. im Heiligen Bezirk neu errichteten Brunnen verbunden. Über den zeitlichen Ablauf dieser Arbeiten geben die Brunneninschriften detaillierte Auskunft.

Die Stelle an der Südseite der Birkat as-Sulṭān, an der die zur Stadt führende Wasserleitung, der Qanāt as-Sabīl abgeht, wird durch einen im Auftrag des Sultans errichteten Brunnen markiert (Abb. 15); dieser Sabīl

neben der Nordwestreppe, der demnach vermutlich gleichzeitig mit der Restaurierung der nahegelegenen Kolonnaden entstanden sein dürfte. Dieses aus der mamlukischen Architektur übernommene Dekorelement verweist in die frühe Bautätigkeit des Sultans Sulaimān in al-Quds/Jerusalem. Entsprechende Zahnschnittrahmen sind zum Beispiel am Minarett der 939/1532–33 restaurierten Zitadellenmoschee (Abb. 14)[37] und zuletzt an einigen der 943/1537 datierten Brunnen des Sultans - Sabīl Ṭarīq al-Wād (Abb.16), Sabīl Bāb as-Silsila (Abb.17) und Sabīl Ṭārīq Bāb an-Nāẓir (Abb.23) belegt[38]. Danach ist dieses dekorative Detail, das zum Repertoire der Alepiner Bauschule gehört, in al-Quds/Jerusalem nicht mehr nachweisbar[39]. Bei einem weitern Einzelbau aus der Regierungszeit des Sultans Sulaimān, dem 945/1538–39 von Muḥammad Bey, dem Gouverneur von Ġazza und Jerusalem *(ṣāḥib liwā' Ġazza wa Quds)* gestifteten Miḥrāb mit dem Qubbat an-Nabīy genannten Säulenpavillon (Abb. 6) nordwestlich des Felsendoms kommt dieses Dekorelement kennzeichnenderweise nicht mehr zur Anwendung[40].

Dagegen sind vergleichbare Zahnschnittfriese an mehreren Stellen an den Umfassungsmauern des Ḥaram, vor allem über bzw. bei den Eingangstoren erhalten, so zum Beispiel an der Westseite beim Bāb as-Silsila (Abb. 7–8)[41], beim Bāb al-Ḥadīd (Abb. 9)[42] und beim Bāb al-Ġawānima (Abb.10)[43] sowie an der Nordseite über dem Bāb al-ʿAtm (Abb. 11)[44]. Möglicherweise sind diese Wandabschluß- und Rahmenfriese als Hinweise auf die umfassende Restaurierung des Ḥaram durch Sultan Sulaimān zu werten. Der aus dem Dekormotiv erschlossene obere zeitliche Rahmenwert von 943/1537 legt einen Zusammenhang mit der ersten dekorativen Erneuerung der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra (935/1528–29) und der Restaurierung des Ǧāmiʿ al-Aqṣā (vermutlich 936/1529–30) nahe.

III. Zitadelle

Ein wesentliches Anliegen des Sultans Sulaimān war gemäß der retrospektiven Erläuterungen des Ewliyā Çelebī der Ausbau der Befestigung von al-Quds/Jerusalem. In der Tat ließ der Sultan schon kurz nach der Restaurierung des Heiligen Bezirks als erste Maßnahme zur Reaktivierung des Verteidigungssystems die an der Westseite der Stadt gelegene Zitadelle wiederherstellen[45]. Die bereits im frühen 8./14. Jahrhundert nach der Vertreibung der Kreuzfahrer aus der Heiligen Stadt ausgebaute Zitadelle war nämlich aufgrund ihres ruinösen Zustands seit dem späten 9./15. Jahrhundert nicht mehr in Benutzung, so daß die Stadt über keinen Schutz durch eine wehrhafte Festungsanlage verfügte. Dieser Zustand wurde mit der 938/1531–32 datierten Restaurierung der Zitadelle, die zusätzlich auch einen

älterer Bauelemente, die an den nischenförmigen Brunnen versetzt wurden[65]. Die Ausführung wurde wieder der Bauhütte übertragen, die seit über einem Jahrzehnt für den Sultan Sulaimān in al-Quds/Jerusalem tätig war. Die schon bei den früheren Baumaßnahmen beobachtete enge Verbindung mit der Architekturtradition von Aleppo belegen nicht nur die häufig wiederkehrenden Zahnschnittfriese, sondern auch Knotensäulen in den Gewänden der Brunnennischen, so zum Beispiel beim Sabīl Bāb as-Silsila (Abb. 17) und bein Sabīl Ṭarīq Bāb an-Nāẓir (Abb. 23), die ebenfalls seit dem 9./15. Jahrhundert zum dekorativen Repertoire der Aleppiner Bauschule gehören. Annähernd gleichzeitig treten verwandte Knotensäulen in Aleppo an den Nischenfassaden der 937/1530–31 errichteten Mawlawīya[67] und des 944/1537–38 erneuerten Ǧāmiʿ aṭ-Ṭawāšī[68] auf. Offenbar wurde der erweiternde Umbau der Aleppiner Moschee von der aus al-Quds/Jerusalem zurückgekehrten Bauhütte ausgeführt, zumal an den späteren Baumaßnahmen des Sultans Sulaimān weder die charakteristischen Zahnschnittfriese, noch die Knotensäulen auftreten.

V. Stadtmauer

Nach der Reaktivierung der Wasserversorgung nahm Sultan Sulaimān ein weiteres monumentales Bauprojekt - den Neubau der Stadtmauer von al-Quds/Jerusalem – in Angriff, mit dem ein traumatisches Kapitel der islamischen Stadtgeschichte abgeschlossen werden sollte. Die zuvor von dem Aiyūbidenfürsten an-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn (Saladin) Yūsuf im Anschluß an die Rückeroberung der Stadt von den Kreuzfahrern im Jahr 587/1191 errichtete bzw. erneuerte Ringmauer war nämlich kaum drei Jahrzehnte später angesichts einer drohenden Belagerung durch die Kreuzfahrer bereits 616/1219 geschliffen und nochmals 624/1227 weiter abgetragen worden; folglich konnte Friedrich II. die Heilige Stadt 626/1229 ohne jede Gegenwehr einnehmen[69]. Die Stadt blieb danach über drei Jahrhunderte ohne wirksames Verteidigungssystem, bis Sultan Sulaimān 944/1537–38 den Auftrag zumBau einer neuen Stadtbefestigung gab. Die nach einer Bauzeit von nur vier Jahren vollendete Stadtmauer[70] wurde bezeichnenderweise genau über den Fundamenten der abgetragenen älteren aiyūbidischen Stadtmauer errichtet. Demnach sollte der Neubau, den keine absehbare äußere Bedrohung motivierte, offenbar den alten Zustand wiederherstellen. Es handelt sich also auch hierbei - wie zuvor schon bei der Restaurierung der Zitadelle–um eine historisierende Baumaßnahme, durch die al-Quds/Jerusalem ein lange Zeit verlorenes Kennzeichen der städtischen Autonomie zurückerhalten sollte.

Den Bauverlauf der insgesamt etwa 4 km langen Ringmauer, die an der

Birkat as-Sulṭān ist inschriftlich auf den 10. Muḥarram 943/29. 6. 1536 datiert[54]. Nach einer Bauzeit von nur einem halben Jahr war der Kanal bis zur westlichen Parallelstraße des Heiligen Bezirks herangeführt, wie die auf den 1. Raǧab 943/14.12.1536 datierte Bauinschrift des Sabīl Ṭarīq al-Wād (Abb. 16) bezeugt[55]. Nur drei Wochen später, am 22. Raǧab 943/4. 1. 1537, wurde der Brunnen beim Bāb as-Silsila (Abb. 17), einem der westlichen Haupttore des Ḥaram in Betrieb genommen[56]. Von hier aus führte eine Abzweigung in südöstliche Richtung zu dem al-Kās genannten Brunnen nördlich des Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā, der nach Ewliyā Çelebī im Zuge der Reaktivierung des Heiligen Bezirks ebenfalls im Auftrag des Sultans erneuert wurde[57]. Ein weiterer Kanalarm zweigte im Inneren des Ḥaram nach Norden ab und führte über den älteren Sabīl Baṣīrī (Abb. 18)[58], der nach dem umlaufenden Zahnschnittfries möglicherweise ebenfalls in diesem Zusammenhang restauriert wurde, zu einem weiteren neu errichteten Brunnen innerhabb des Bāb al-ᶜAtm (Abb. 19), dem westlichen Nordtor des Heiligen Bezirks[59]. Dieser Brunnen wurde am Anfang des Monats Šaᶜbān 943/13.1.1537, also nur neun Tage nach dem Sabīl Bāb as-Silsila vollendet. Die Rückseite des Brunnens enthält eine Gebetsnische (Abb. 20), die nach Aussage einer Inschrift von Sultan Sulaimān - wohl zusammen mit dem zugehörigen erhöhten Betplatz - restauriert wurde[60]. Von hier aus lief die Wasserleitung offenbar nach Osten weiter zum östlichen Nachbartor, dem Bāb Ḥiṭṭā, dessen Ostgewände eine nachträgliche Brunnennische (Abb. 21) vorgelagert ist, die nach der abschließenden Zahnschnittleiste sehr wahrscheinlich auch auf die Baumaßnahmen des Sultans zurückgehen dürfte[61]. Der Kanal mündete vermuteich in die Birkat as-Sarāy außerhalb der Nordostecke des Ḥaram[62]; von diesem Wasserreservoir wurde der innerhalb des Bāb Sittī Maryam, dem östlichen Stadttor gelegene Brunnen (Abb. 22) gespeist, dessen Bauinschrift zwar nicht mehr erhalten ist, der jedoch aufgrund der formalen Analogien ebenfalls dem Sultan Sulaimān zugeschrieben werden kann[63].

Der Sabīl Ṭarīq Bāb an-Nāẓir (Abb. 23), nur ca. 150 m nördlich des Sabīl Ṭarīq al-Wād gelegen, bezeugt durch das Baudatum vom 2. Ramaḍān 943/12.2.1537[64], daß im Stadtgebiet bzw. auf dem Ḥaram die Erneuerung der Wasserleitungen und die Errichtung der Brunnen in der erstaunlich kurzen Zeit von knapp zwei Monaten durchgeführt wurde. Hauptziel dieser Baumaßnahmen dürfte - wie Ewliyā Çelebī in der einleitend zitierten Passage andeutet - die Wasserversorgung des Heiligen Bezirks gewesen sein. Aber die innerhalb der Stadt an den Kreuzungen wichtiger Durchgangsstraßen angelegten Brunnen sprechen auch für eine bewußte Verbesserung der städtischen Infrastruktur durch den Sultan.

Die erstaunlich kurze Bauzeit beruht auch auf der Wiederverwendung

VI. Ribāṭ al-Amīr Bairām Ǧāwīš

Mit dem Neubau der Stadtmauer steht vermutlich auch der am 20. Rabīᶜ I 947/25.7.1540 gestiftete Ribāṭ des Amīr Bairām Ǧāwīš[90] im Zusammenhang. Dieses an der westlichen Parallelstraße des Ḥaram in unmittelbarer Nähe des vier Jahre zuvor errichteten Sabīl Ṭarīq an-Nāẓir gelegene große Pilgerhospiz umfaßt auch eine 947/1540–41 restaurierte Qur'ān-Schule[91]. Von dem in zwei Bauinschriften genannten Stifter Bairām Ǧāwīš b. Muṣṭafā sind zwar keine biographischen Daten überliefert, doch wäre auch in diesem Fall naheliegend, daß der Offizier (*al-amīr*) an der Bauleitung der im selben Jahr vollendeten Stadtmauer beteiligt war. Entsprechend der Stadtmauer steht auch dieser Komplex in der Nachfolge der spätmamlukischen Architektur von Kairo und Damaskus. Die als Schauseite ausgebildete Nordfassade des Ribāṭs (Abb. 35) greift mit der Nischengliederung ein Kairener Architekturmotiv auf[92], während die Horizontalstreifung und die ornamental verzahnten Keilsteine zur selben Zeit in Kairo – etwa am Sabīl-Kuttāb des Ḫusrau Pāšā von 942/1535[93] – wie auch in Damaskus – zum Beispiel am Mausoleum des 942/1535 verstorbenen Gouverneurs Aḥmad Pāšā[94] – geläufig sind. Analoge Dekormotive bestimmen auch die über dem Eingang gelegenen Innenräume (Abb. 36), deren komplizierte Wölbung mit Muqarnaṣ-Kuppelüberleitung und Faltgewölben ebenfalls der mamlukischen Bautradition von Kairo und Damaskus verpflichtet ist[95].

Diese besonders reich dekorativ ausgestaltete Anlage entspricht in der entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Stellung der zeitgleichen Stadtmauer von al-Quds/Jerusalem. Obwohl die Stadtmauer – bedingt durch die Funktion als Wehrbau - im Baudekor um vieles bescheidener wirkt, etwa die auffallende Akzentuierung durch farblich kontrastierendes Steinmaterial völlig fehlt, könnten beide Anlagen von denselben Bauleuten errichtet worden sein.

VII. Takīya Ḫāṣṣekī Sulṭān

Die Erneuerung von al-Quds/Jerusalem erreicht mit der Gründung eines zweiten großen Pilgerhospizes durch Ḫāṣṣekī Hürrem, der Frau des Sultans Sulaimān, einen letzten Höhepunkt[96]. Diese nur etwa 50 m westlich des Ribāṭ Bairām Ǧāwīš an der zum Bāb an-Nāẓir, einem nördlichen Westtor des Ḥaram führenden Straße gelegene Anlage ist zwar anepigraphisch, doch ist die Identifizierung und zeitliche Einordnung durch insgesamt drei zeitgenössische Dokumente gesichert. Ein terminus ante quem für die Erbauung ist durch das türkische Konzept einer Stiftungsurkunde gegeben, das am 30. Ǧumāda I 959/24.5.1552 aufgesetzt wurde[97]. In diesem Dokument wird der Komplex mit großem Innenhof und anliegenden Trakten mit überwölbten, über insgesamt 55 Türen zugänglichen Räumen beschrieben.

Ostseite bzw. an der Südostecke die Außenmauer des Ḥaram (Abb.34) und an der Westseite (Abb. 33) die Zitadelle miteinbezieht, kann anhand der insgesamt 13 bekannten Bauinschriften erschlossen werden: Die Arbeiten begannen an der Nordwestflanke, zumal dort drei Inschriften - am Bāb al-ᶜAmūd (Damaskus-Tor) genannten Nordwesttor (Abb. 24)[71], am Mittelturm des östlichen Mauerstücks (Abb. 25)[72] und am Burǧ Laqlaq (Abb. 26), dem nordöstlichen Eckturm[73] – das Baudatum 944/1537–38 nennen. Zu diesem ersten Bauabschnitt gehört auch der Bāb as-Sāhira (Herodes-Tor), das Nordtor der Stadt[74]. Im folgenden Jahr wurden die Bauarbeiten sowohl an der Ostseite mit dem 945/1538–39 datierten Bāb Sittī Maryam /al-Asbāṭ (Stefanstor) (Abb. 27–28)[75] bis zur Nordostecke des Ḥaram, als auch an dem Nordteil der Westseite bis zur Zitadelle fortgesetzt, wofür vier weitere Inschriften von 945/1538–39 – jeweils eine am nördlichsten[76] sowie am südlichsten Turm[77] und zwei am Bāb al-Ḫalīl (Jaffa-Tor), dem Westtor (Abb. 29)[78] – Zeugnis ablegen. Die Ringmauer wurde mit dem Südbogen 947/1540–41 geschlossen, wie vier weitere Inschriften – zwei am Bāb an-Nabī Dāwūd (Zion-Tor) genannten Südtor (Abb. 30)[79] und jeweils eine am Burǧ al-Kibrīt (Abb. 31), dem südöstlichen Eckturm[80], sowie am Bāb al-Maġāriba (Abb. 32), dem Südosttor[81] – belegen. Möglicherweise wurden zuvor auch die vorgeschobene Terrasse an der Westseite der Zitadelle[82] mit dem südlich anschließenden Teilstück der Westmauer (Abb. 33) angelegt und die Außenmauer des Ḥaram (Abb. 34) restauriert. Das Wehrsystem der Stadtmauer orientiert sich mit den eckigen Türmen und den Toren mit Knickeingängen an aiyūbidischen und mamlukischen Vorbildern. Vergleichbar sind zum Beispiel die Stadtmauern von Damaskus[84] und vor allem Aleppo[85]. Auch die Faltgewölbe in den Torbauten des Bāb al-ᶜAmūd, des Bāb Sittī Maryam (Abb. 28) und des Bāb al-Ḫalīl verbinden mit spätmamlukischen Toranlagen in Aleppo[86] und Kairo[87]. Demnach ist naheliegend, daß nicht eine aus dem osmanischen Kerngebiet zugewanderte Bauhütte mit der Errichtung dieser monumentalen Stadtmauer beauftragt wurde, sondern hier offenbar syrische oder Kairener Bauleute tätig waren[88]. Deutlich ist ein bewußter Rückgriff auf eine mittelalterliche Entwicklungsstufe des Wehrbaus, durch den vermutlich eine historisierende Angleichung an die verlorene aiyūbidische Vorgängeranlage erreicht werden sollte.

Die auffallend kargen Bauinschriften der Stadtmauer geben keinen Aufschluß über die Bauorganisation, doch kann angenommen werden, daß der Gouverneur von Ġazza und al-Quds, Muḥammad Bey, der durch den Bau eines Miḥrābs unter der Qubbat an-Nabīy im Ḥaram (Abb. 6) mit einer 945/1538–39 datierten Inschrift belegt ist[89], bei diesem großen Bauvorhaben eine wichtige Funktion – eventuell als Bauleiter – innehatte.

lem innerhalb von nur drei Jahrzehnten signalisiert die neue Attraktivität der Stadt, die nicht zuletzt auch aus dem weitreichenden Erneuerungsprogramm des Sultans Sulaimān resultiert.

Damit ist Sultan Sulaimān Qānūnī in der Tat – wie von Ewliyā Çelebī behauptet - als Erneuerer der Stadt anzusprechen. Bei den zahlreichen Baumaßnahmen des Sultans im Zuge der Stadterneuerung zeichnen sich zwei Hauptkomponeten ab: Zum einen wurde durch die Restaurierung der Zitadelle bzw. durch den folgenden Wiederaufbau der Stadtmauer dem Sicherheitsbedürfnis der Bevölkerung Rechnung getragen und parallel durch die Reaktivierung der Wasserleitungen die kontinuierliche Versorgung der Stadt mit Frischwasser sichergestellt. Mit diesem genau ein Jahrzehnt – von 938/1531–32 bis 947/1540–41 – andauernden Bauprogramm war der Rahmen der weiteren Stadtentwicklung abgesteckt. Auf dem Gebiet der am Anfang der Regierungszeit des Sultans offenbar in weiten Teilen verfallenen Wohnviertel innerhalb der Stadtmauer siedelte sich die zuwandernde Bevölkerung an, für die neue Wohnbauten errichtet werden mußten[105]. Mit dem Anwachsen der Bevölkerung nahmen jedoch nicht nur die Bauaktivitäten zu, sondern als weitere Folgewirkung dehnten sich Handel und Gewerbe weiter aus, wodurch al-Quds/Jerusalem neue Geltung als eigenständiges urbanes Zentrum erlangen konnte.

Zum anderen wurde entsprechend der religiösen Bedeutung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch andauernde Restaurierungsmaßnahmen der islamische Charakter der Stadt und ihrer Wallfahrtsstätten betont. Diese fast die gesamte Regierungszeit des Sultans – von 930/1524 bis 972/1564–65 – weitergeführten Erneuerungsarbeiten wie auch die dekorative Neuausstattung der wichtigsten Heiligtümer der Stadt, angefangen mit dem Maqām an-Nabī Dāwūd und danach vor allem im Bereich des Ḥaram aš-Šarīf, förderte die Wallfahrt nach al-Quds/Jerusalem, die parallel zur anwachsenden Bevölkerung offenbar ebenfalls zunahm. Diese wachsende Bedeutung der islamischen Wallfahrt zur Zeit des Sultans Sulaimān führte schließlich zur Gründung von zwei großen Pilgerherbergen, dem Ribāṭ al-Amīr Bairām Ǧāwīš (947/1540–41) und der Takīya Ḫāṣṣekī Sulṭān (vor 959/1552). Den Höhepunkt dieser Entwicklung markiert die aufwendige äußere Fliesenverkleidung der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra, die dem zentralen Heiligtum zu einer prachtvollen Außenerscheinung verhalf, die das gesamte Stadtgebiet überstrahlte.

Angesichts der intensiven Förderung der Wallfahrt nach al-Quds/Jerusalem und des systematischen Ausbaus der Stadt durch Sultan Sulaimān ist auffallend, daß die zahlreichen Baumaßnahmen nicht durch entsandte osmanische Hofkünstler, sondern im wesentlichen von lokalen syrischen Bauhütten ausgeführt wurden. Bis zur Mitte des 10./16. Jahrhunderts lassen sich nirgends Einflüsse der gleichzeitigen hochosmanischen Architektur

Neben Wohnquartieren für Pilger und Derwische umfaßte die Anlage auch eine Moschee, eine Küche, einen Backofen, einen Speisesaal, Vorratsräume und einen Ḫān mit Stallungen. Die vermutlich kurz vor der Konzipierung der Stiftungsurkunde 959/1552 vollendete Pilgerherberge wurde jedoch offenbar erst fünf Jahre später, nach der Ausstellung der erweiterten arabischen Stiftungsurkunde vom 15. Šaʿbān 964/13.6.1557[98] in Betrieb genommen. Kurz darauf stiftete Sultan Sulaimān mit einem Firmān vom 28. Šawwāl 967/22.7.1560[99] der Anlage weiteren Grundbesitz.

Dieser große Komplex, dem offenbar auch das westlich anliegende mamlukische Haus der Sitt Tunšuq[100] eingegliedert wurde, ist in dem Oeuvrekatalog des osmanischen Chefarchitekten Sinān verzeichnet[101]. Doch ist kaum anzunehmen, daß der Hofarchitekt des Sultans, der zu dieser Zeit – von 957/1550 bis 964/1557 – in Istanbul den Bau der monumentalen Süleymaniye Cami leitete, persönlich an der Bauausführung beteiligt war. Wahrscheinlich dürfte kaum mehr als das allgemeine Planungskonzept auf das imperiale Baubüro des Sinān zurückgehen, zumal bei der Anlage keine Einflüsse der gleichzeitigen hochosmanischen Architektur von Istanbul zu erkennen sind. Vielmehr verbindet das Hauptportal (Abb.37) mit der Dreipaßnische und dem am Nischenzenith verknoteten Rahmenband mit der zeitgleichen Kairener Architektur; vergleichbar ist dort zum Beispiel das Portal der 950/1543–44 datierten Madrasa des Sulaimān Pāšā[102]. Das rahmende Knotenband des leer belassenen Inschriftfeldes über der Eingangstür (Abb. 38) greift dagegen ein für Damaskus - etwa an der Fassade des Mausoleums des Luṭfī Pāšā von 940/1534[103] – geläufiges Dekormotiv auf.

Die deutliche Verbindung dieser imperialen Anlage mit den Architekturtraditionen der osmanischen Provinzen Ägypten und Syrien ist auffallend, zumal annähernd gleichzeitig für die Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra eine Fayenceverkleidung (Abb. 2) angefertigt wurde, die sich an Hauptbauten der osmanischen Architektur orientiert.

VIII. Zusammenfassung

Die systematische Reaktivierung von al-Quds/Jerusalem durch den Osmanensultan Sulaimān I. Qānūnī schuf eine neue Grundlage für die weitere Entwicklung der Stadt als urbanes Zentrum. Aufschlußreich ist in diesem Zusammenhang die Statistik der Steuerzahler, aus der sich für die Regierungszeit des Sultans eine äußerst dynamische Zunahme der Bevölkerung erschließen laßt: Nachdem 932/1525–26 die Stadt nur annähernd 4000 Einwohner zählte, war 961/1553 – 54 die Bevölkerung auf ca. 12000 Einwohner angewachesen[104]. Die Verdreifachung der Bevölkerung von al-Quds/Jerusa-

Anmerkungen

* Vorliegender Aufsatz ist Teil einer Untersuchung der osmanischen Architektur des 10./16. Jahrhunderts außerhalb der Turkei, auf dem Gebiet des mamlukischen Großreiches (s. Meinecke 1976 und 1978), die im Rahmen eines von der Abteilung Kairo des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts getragenen und von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft geförderten Surveys der mamlukischen Architektur durchgeführt wurde; dazu ausführlich M. Meinecke, Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517) I (in Vorberbereitung).

Für mehrfach zitierte Publikationen werden folgende Abkürzungen verwendet:

al-ᶜAsalī (1981)	Kāmil Ǧamīl al-ᶜAsalī, Maᶜāhid al-ᶜilm fī Bait al-Muqaddas (1981)
al-ᶜAsalī (1982)	Kāmil Ǧamīl al-ᶜAsalī, Min āṯārinā fī Bait al-Muqaddas (1982)
van Berchem	Max van Berchem, Materiaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 2. Teil: Syrie du Sud - Jérusalem I – III (1920 – 1927)
Burgoyne	Michael H. Burgoyne, A chronological index to Muslim monuments of Jerusalem, bei K.M. Kenyon (Hrsg.), The architecture of Islamic Jerusalem (1976)
Ewliyā Çelebī	St. H. Stephan (Übers.), Evliya Tshelebi's travels in Palestine, in : Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 4, 1935, 103 – 108 (= I), 155 – 164 (II) ; 5, 1936, 69 – 73 (III), 84 – 97 (IV); 8, 1938, 137 – 156 (V); 9 (1939), 81 – 104 (VI); neutürkische Übersetzung von İsmet Parmaksızoğlu, Evliya Çelebī, Seyahatname (Hatay – Suriye – Lübnan – Filistin) (1982)
Kunūz al-Quds	Rā'if Yūsuf Naǧm (Hrsg.), Kunūz al-Quds (1983).
Meinecke (1976)	Michael Meinecke, Die Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Kairo, nach der osmanischen Eroberung von 1717, in: IVème Congrès International d'Art Turc – Aix-en-Provence 1971 (1976) 145–152
Meinecke (1978)	Michael Meinecke, Die osmanische Architektur des 16. Jahrhunderts in Damaskus, in: Fifth International Congress of Turkish Art - Budapest 1975 (1978) 575–585

der Türkei aufzeigen. Vielmehr steht das gesamte Bauprogramm in der Nachfolge der mamlukischen Bauschulen von Damaskus und Aleppo, die auch schon in den vorangegangenen Jahrhunderten die Architektur von al-Quds/Jerusalem beeinflußt hatten. Gelegentlich werden zusätzlich auch in der spätmamlukischen Baukunst der ägyptischen Metropole Kairo geläufige Architekturformen übernommen. Auch die vor 959/1552 errichtete Takīya der Ḫāṣṣekī Hürrem, die im Oeuvreverzeichnis des osmanischen Hofarchitekten Sinān aufgeführt wird, ist weiterhin den syrisch-ägyptischen Bautraditionen verpflichtet. Nur bei der letzten Ausstattungsphase der Qubbat aṣ-Ṣaḫra, mit der die zentrale Wallfahrtsstätte im Heiligen Bezirk der Stadt eine umfangreiche Fayenceverkleidung nach dem Vorbild osmanischer Sultansbauten erhielt, ist der Einfluß der türkischen Architektur zu erkennen. Diese vermutlich ab 952/1545–46 angefertigte und wohl bis 969/1561–62 sukzessive erweiterte Fayenceinkrustation ist allerdings kennzeichnenderweise wiederum nicht von einem türkischen Künstler, sondern von ᶜAbd Allāh Tabrīzī signiert, dessen Nisbe auf seine Herkunft aus Tabrīz in Nordwestīrān verweist.

Diese entwicklungsgeschichtlich bemerkenswerte Abhängigkeit der Baumaßnahmen des Sultans Sulaimān von den traditionellen Architekturzentren des kurz zuvor in das osmanische Imperium eingegliederten Mamlukenreiches wird auch in der einleitend zitierten Passage aus dem Reisewerk des Ewliyā Çelebī reflektiert. Obwohl Ewliyā Çelebī behauptet, der Hofachitekt Sinān sei im Auftrag des Sultans mit dem benötigten Baumaterial von Istanbul nach al-Quds/Jerusalem geschickt worden, schreibt er die Bauausführung den für die Restaurierung der Stadt aus Kairo, Damaskus und Aleppo zusammengezogenen Baumeistern, Architekten und Steinmetzen zu.

Der ausschließliche Rückgriff auf die regional verfügbaren Bauhütten steht im auffälligen Gegensatz zur gleichzeitigen Architekturentwicklung dieser drei Metropolen, die gerade in der Regierungszeit des Sultans Sulaimān in zunehmendem Maße hauptstädtisch-osmanische Bauformen übernehmen[106]. Diese Sonderstellung gibt ein bewußtes Programm zu erkennen: Die im Auftrag des Sultans durchgeführten Baumaßnahmen hatten nicht primär die Modernisierung von al-Quds/Jerusalem zum Ziel, sondern galten einer historisierenden Erneuerung in Anbindung an die lokalen Traditionen. Das retrospektive Konzept verhalf der Heiligen Stadt zu einer mittelalterlichen Gesamterscheinung, die ganz besonders durch die neue Stadtmauer geprägt wird. Mit dem weitgreifenden historisierenden Wiederaufbau der Stadt, den die Bauinschriften wie auch Ewliyā Çelebī mehrfach ansprechen, wurde der Osmanensultan Sulaimān Qānūnī zum eigentlichen islamischen Erneuerer dieses traditionsreichen religiösen Weltzentrums.

7 – van Berchem I (1922) 403f. Nr. 109, Taf. 89b.

8 – Heinz Gaube – Eugen Wirth, Aleppo. Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung, zur sozialen Organisation und zur wirtschaftlichen Dynamik einer vorderasiatischen Fernhandelsmetropole (1984) 351 Nr. 61; Mohamed Scharabi, Bemerkungen zur Bauform des Sūqs von Aleppo, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 36, 1980, 405f. Nr. 4. Auf einer analogen Verbindung mit Aleppo basieren auch die rahmenden Zahnschnittleisten der 879/1474 im Auftrag des Mamlukensultans al-Ašraf Qaitbāy restaurierten Fassade des Ǧāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā; van Berchem II (1927) 433 Nr. Nr. 291, Taf. 46/links.

9 – van Berchem II (1927) 167f. Nr. 191f.; vgl. Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 121; Walls - Abul-Hajj (1980) 18 Nr. 191f. ; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 332 Nr. 138 (mit Abb.). Die Außennischen des oktogonalen Brunnenhauses rahmen aus der Architektur von Damaskus bekannte Knotenbänder, die dort zum Beispiel an der Portalfassade der 923/1517 bis 924/1518 von dem Osmanensultan Selīm I. errichteten Moschee des Muḥyi d-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī eine enge Entsprechung finden; dazu s. Meinecke (1978) 577, Abb. 1; ders., Der Survey des Damaszener Altstadtviertels aṣ-Ṣāliḥīya, in: Damaszener Mitteilungen 1, 1983, 225 Nr. 50.

10 – Zu diesem Hauptbau der frühislamischen Architektur grundlegend K. A. C. Creswell, Early Muslim architecture I/1 (1969) 65 – 129, Abb. 19 – 34, Taf. 1 – 37.

11 – van Berchem II (1927) 329 – 332 Nr. 238. Diese Inschrift ist bei der Restaurierung von 1958 – 1964 entfernt worden, doch werden einige der alten Glasfenster im Ḥaram - Museum aufbewahrt; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 21 Nr. 238.

12 – Nach Ewliyā Çelebī (VI, 89; Parmaksızoğlu 235) war auch die achtteilige Holzdecke des äußeren Umgangs im Auftrag des Sultans erneuert und von den Malern « Bihzād of Calcutta, Māni, Shāh Qu[li], Weli Jān, and Āghā Riẓā» ausgestaltet worden.

13 – Über die größtenteils bei der Restaurierung von 1958 – 1964 ersetzten Fayencen der Außeninkrustation, die sich heute zum Teil im Museum des Ḥaram befinden, ist eine detaillierte Untersuchung von John Carswell/Chicago und Julian Raby/Oxford in Vorbereitung; s. vorerst Arthur Lane, Later Islamic pottery. Persia, Syria, Egypt, Turkey (1957) 54f.; Katharina Otto-Dorn, Türkische Keramik (1957) 108f., Abb. 49; Kurt Erdmann, Neue Arbeiten zur türkischen Keramik, in: Ars Orientalis 5, 1963, 214.

Walls - Abul-Hajj Archibald G. Walls -Amal Abul-Hajj, Arabic Inscriptions in Jerusalem: a handlist and maps (1980)

1 – Zur Bedeutung der Stadt s. R. W. Hamilton, Jerusalem: patterns of holiness, bei: P.R.S. Moorey - P.J. Parr (Hrsg)., Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon (1978) 194–201; zu den islamischen Denkmälern zusammenfassend Oleg Grabar in : The Encyclopaedia of Islam - new edition V/83 – 84 (1980) 339 –344. Für die Osmanenzeit s. die angekündigte Monographie von Haim Gerber, Jerusalem under Ottoman rule (1985).

2 – Der mamlukische Baubestand wird in einem seit 1968 andauernden Survey der British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem dokumentiert. Dazu Michael H. Burgoyne, The development of the Haram in Jerusalem under the Bahri Mamluks (Dissertation Oxford 1979); und Archibald G. Walls, An attempted reconstruction of design procedures and concepts during the reign of Sultan Qaytbay (872/1468 – 901/1496) in Jerusalem and Cairo : with special references to the Madrasa Al - Ashrafiyya and the minbar in the Khanaqah of Farag Ibn Barquq (Dissertation Heriot–Watt University 1979). Ein Katalog der 66 mamlukischen Bauten von al-Quds/Jerusalem wird von M. H. Burgoyne vorbereitet; siehe vorerst die Aufsätze von M.H. Burgoyne, Christel Kessler und A. G. Walls in : Levant (seit 3, 1971).

3 – Ewliyā Çelebī VI, 86f.; Parmaksızoğlu (1982) 232f.

4 – Auf diesen Traum verweist Ewliyā Çelebī auch im Zusammenhang seines Besuchs sowohl von Mekka, als auch von Medina; s. die neutürkische Ausgabe von Zuhuri Danışman; Evliyā Çelebī Seyâhatnâmesi XIII (1971) 293; XIV (1971) 31.

5 – Lālā Muṣṭafā Pāšā war erst gegen Ende der Regierungszeit des Sultans von 971/1563–64 bis 976/1568–69 Gouverneur der Provinz Damaskus und kann somit kaum mit der Reaktivierung von al-Quds/Jerusalem in Verbindung gebracht werden; vgl. Muḥammad Ibn Ǧumʿa (gest. nach 1156/1744), al-Bāšāt wa l-quḍāt fī Dimašq, ediert von Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munaǧǧid, Wulāt Dimašq fī l-ʿahd al-ʿUṯmānīya (1949) 15f.; übersetzt von Henri Laoust, Les Gouverneurs de Damas sous les Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans (1952) 186f.

6 – van Berchem I (1922) 403 – 411; ʿĀrif al-ʿĀrif, al-Mufaṣṣal fī tāriḫ al-Quds I (1961) 502–504; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 120; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 109; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 325 – 331 Nr. 136; vgl. J. W. Hirschberg, The remains of an ancient synagogue on Mount Zion, bei: Yigael Yadin, Jerusalem revealed. Archaeology in the Holy City 1968–1974 (1976) 116 f.

956/1549 datiert ist; Lane (s.o. Anm. 13) 54. Diese Ampelgruppe wurde jedoch nach J.M. Rogers (Islamic art & design. 1500–1700 [1983] 93f.) vermutlich für den Komplex des Eşrefzade Rumi in Iznik (Katharina Otto-Dorn, Das islamische Iznik [1941] 39–48) angefertigt.

23 – Ernst Egli, Sinan. Der Baumeister osmanischer Glanzzeit (1954) 77–83, Abb. 50–58; Cevdet Culpan, İstanbul Süleymaniye Camii kitabesi, in: Kanunî Armağanı (1970) 291–299, Abb. 1–3; Godfrey Goodwin, A history of Ottoman architecture (1971) 215–239, Abb. 208–227; s. auch Anm. 18.

24 – Lane (s. o. Anm. 13) 55; Otto-Dorn (s. o. Anm. 13) 109–111, Abb. 50.

25 – Meinecke (1978) 580 – 582, Abb. 8.

26 – van Berchem II (1927) 339f. Nr. 241f., Taf. 111/unten. Auch diese Türen befinden sich heute im Ḥaram – Museum; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 21 Nr. 240f.

27 – Ewliyā Çelebī VI, 95; Parmaksızoğlu 240.

28 – Hierzu grundlegend K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim architecture I/1 (1969) 29–35; I/2 (1969) 373–380, Abb. 445f., Taf. 63; R. W. Hamilton, The structural history of the Aqsa Mosque (1949).

29 – van Berchem II (1927) 439 Nr. 294 (nach H. Sauvaire); Walls - Abul-Hajj (1980) 25 Nr. 294.

30 – Ewliyā Çelebī, VI, 82; Parmaksızoğlu 229f.

31 – Die Glasfenster der Süleymaniye Cami in Istanbul schreibt Ewliyā Çelebī einem Sarhoš Ibrāhīm zu, der mit dem Sarhoš ᶜAbdū des Ğāmiᶜ al-Aqṣā identisch sein dürfte. In den erhaltenen Abrechnungslisten der Istanbuler Moschee wird dieser ephemere Künstler allerdings nicht genannt; deshalb folgert Michael Rogers (Glass in Ottoman Turkey, in: Istanbuler Mitteilungen 33, 1983, 243): « One might conclude that he was permanently absent with a hangover» - das ist eine Schlußfolgerung, die auch auf das Jerusalemer Werk übertragen werden kann.

32 – Ewliyā Çelebī VI, 85f.; Parmaksızoğlu 232.

33 – al-ᶜAsalī (1982) 229f., Abb. S. 230f.; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 108 Nr. 20.

34 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 66; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 202 Nr. 76 (mit Abb.).

35 – van Berchem II (1927) 183 – 186 Nr. 198, Taf. 61/unten; Walls - Abul-Hajj (1980) 18 Nr. 189.

36 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 116; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 321 Nr. 134 (mit Abb.).

37 – s. u. Anm. 50.

14 – van Berchem II (1927) 333 – 335 Nr. 239, Taf. 115/oben, 116f.

15 – van Berchem II (1927) 335 – 338 Nr. 240, Abb. 71, Taf. 111/unten; diese Inschrift ist heute durch eine moderne Kopie ersetzt.

16 – Zu den Tabrīzer Künstlern des 10./16. Jahrhunderts s. Oktay Aslanapa, Täbriser Künstler am Hofe der osmanischen Sultane in Istanbul, in: Anatolia 3, 1958, 15–17; Johanna Zick-Nissen, « Die Tebriser Meister » und kunsthandwerkliche Produkte in Berliner Sammlungen, in: Festschrift für Peter Wilhelm Meister (1975) 62–70. Zu früheren Fayencespezialisten aus Tabrīz s. Michael Meinecke, Fayencedekorationen seldschukischer Sakralbauten in Kleinasien (1976) 98–120; ders., Die mamlukischen Fayencemosaikdekorationen: Eine Werkstätte aus Tabrīz in Kairo (1330–1350), in: Kunst des Orients 11 (1976–1977) 85 – 144; ders., Syrian blue-and-white tiles of the 9th/15th century (Vortrag gehalten auf der First World Conference on Arab-Islamic Civilization, Damaskus, 23.4.1981); sowie John Carswell, Six tiles, bei: Richard Ettinghausen (Hrsg.), Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1972) 99–124; ders., Some fifteenth-century hexagonal tiles from the Near East, in: Victoria & Albert Museum Yearbook (1972) 59–75; Marilyn Jenkins, Mamluk underglaze-painted pottery: foundations for future study, in: Muqarnas 2, 1984, 95 – 114.

17 – Ewliyā Çelebī VI, 87; Parmaksızoğlu 233.

18 – Tahsin Öz, İstanbul camileri I (1962) 131 – 135, bes. 132; zu dem Hofkalligraphen s. auch Uğur Derman, Kanunî devrinde yazı san'atımız, in: Kanunî Armağanı (1970) 277, Abb. 9–11; die Monographie von A. Süheyl Ünver (Hattat Ahmet Karahisarî [1948]) konnte nicht eingesehen werden.

19 – Dazu s. u. Anm. 101.

20 – van Berchem II (1927) 173 – 183, Taf. 104f., 112f.; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 2; Marguerite Gautier-van Berchem – Solange Ory, La Jérusalem musulmane dans l'oeuvre de Max van Berchem (1978) 63, Abb. S. 64f.; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 73f. Nr. 2.

21 – van Berchem II (1927) 180 – 183 Nr. 196, Taf. 105/unten; K. A. C. Creswell, The works of sultan Bibars al-Bunduqdârî in Egypt, in: Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 26, 1926, 186, Taf. 29A; ders., The Muslim architecture of Egypt II (1959) 171, Abb. 97; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 18 Nr. 196.

22 – Angeblich soll wenig früher der Felsendom im Auftrag des Sultans auch mit in Iznik produzierten Fayenceampeln ausgestattet worden sein, von denen ein im British Museum/London befindliches Exemplar

50 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 122; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 333 Nr. 139 (mit Abb.). Das Minarett wurde 1065/1654–55 restauriert; van Berchem I (1922) 165–167 Nr. 53; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 9 Nr. 53.

51 – Analoge Medaillons sind in Dmaskus zum Beispiel an der Südfassade des 676/1277 vollendeten Mausoleums des Mamlukensultans aẓ-Ẓāhir Baibars (Asmā' al-Ḥimṣī, al-Madrasa aẓ-Ẓāhirīya [1967]) und über dem Miḥrāb des Masǧids der um 698/1299 errichteten Turba at-Takritīya (Ernst Herzfeld, Damascus. Studies in architecture III, in: Ars Islamica 11–12, 1946, Abb. 83) belegt.

52 – Zu den Wasserleitungen von al-Quds/Jerusalem und den damit zusammenhängenden Anlagen zusammenfassend al-ᶜAsalī (1982) 97–296; vgl. auch R. Amiran, The water supply of Israelite Jerusalem, bei: Yigael Yadin, Jerusalem revealed. Archaeology in the Holy City 1968–1974 (1976) 75–78; A. Mazar, The aqueducts of Jerusalem, a. a. O. (1976) 79–84.

53 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 98; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 273 Nr. 109 (mit Abb.).

54 – van Berchem I (1922) 412f. Nr. 110, Abb. 68, Taf. 91/unten 92/rechts; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 123; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 110; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 334f. Nr. 140.

55 – van Berchem I (1922) 413f. Nr. 111, Taf. 94; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 124; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 111; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 336 (mit Abb.).

56 – van Berchem I (1922) 414f. Nr. 112, Taf. 92/links, 93; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 125; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 112; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 337 Nr. 142 (mit Abb.).

57 – s. o. Anm. 32f.

58 – van Berchem II (1927) 138–140; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 104; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 238 Nr. 116 (mit Abb.).

59 – van Berchem I (1922) 415f. Nr. 113, Taf. 95/links; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 126; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 113; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 338 Nr. 143 (mit Abb.).

60 – van Berchem II (1927) 168f. Nr. 192; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 18 Nr. 192; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 339 Nr. 144 (mit Abb.).

61 – Zum Ḥaram-Tor: Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 29; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 136 Nr. 38 (mit Abb.). Ein uzgehöriger, formal eng verwandter Brunnen mit abschließendem Zahnschnittfries liegt in der Verbindungsstraße

38 – s.u. Anm. 55f., 64.

39 – Allerdings treten vergleichbare Zahnschnittborten vereinzelt auch an der vor 959/1552 vollendeten Takīya Ḫāṣṣekī Sulṭān (s.u. Anm. 96) auf, doch könnte es sich dort um frühere Bauteile handeln, die dem Pilgerhospiz eingegliedert wurden.

40 – van Berchem II (1927) 196f. Nr. 193; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 137; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 18 Nr. 193; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 351 Nr. 151 (mit Abb.).

41 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 16; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 115f. Nr. Nr. 25 (mit Abb.).

42 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr.72; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 218f. Nr. 82 (mit Abb.).

43 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 49; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 172 Nr. 59 (mit Abb).

44 – Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 26; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 132 Nr. 35 (mit Abb.). Zu rekonstruieren ist hier eine Fassade mit Zahnschnittgliederung entsprechend der 840/1437 vollendeten Madrasa al-ᶜUṯmānīya; van Berchem I (1922) 321–327 Nr. 97f., Abb. 55f., Taf. 75/oben; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 105; al-ᶜAsalī (1981) 176–181 (mit Abb.).

45 – Zur Zitadelle grundlegend C. N. Johns, The Citadel, Jerusalem. A summary of work since 1934, in: Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 14, 1950, 121–190, Taf. 47 – 64; vgl. Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 24; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 128–130 Nr. 33 (mit Abb.).

46 – van Berchem I (1922) 146–149 Nr. 45, Taf. 40/unten, 90/oben; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 9 Nr. 45.

47 – van Berchem I (1922) 149f. Nr. 46f., Abb. 19; L.A. Mayer, Saracenic heraldry. A survey (1933) 39; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 9 Nr. 46f.

48 – Mayer (1933) 34–40; ders., Das Schriftwappen der Mamlukensultane, in: Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst 2, 1925, 183–187; s. auch Michael Meinecke, Zur mamlukischen Heraldik, in: Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo 28/2, 1972, 286f.; ders., Die Bedeutung der mamlukischen Heraldik für die Kunstgeschichte, in: Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft–Supplement II (1974) 217–221.

49 – van Berchem I (1922) 164f. Nr. 52, Abb. 25, Taf. 91/Mitte; Gaston Wiet bei van Berchem I (1922) 463 (Nachtrag zu Nr. 52); Jones (s.o. Anm. 45) 173; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 51; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 9 Nr. 52; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 173–175 Nr. 60 (mit Abb.).

75 – van Berchem I (1922) 439 Nr. 122, Taf. 100; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 132; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 122; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 32f. Nr. 152 (mit Abb., bes. Abb. S. 353: Aufriß).

76 – Jones (s. o. Anm. 45) 172 Anm. 5; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 29 Nr. LIV, 31 Anm. 23.

77 – van Berchem I (1922) 439 Nr. 123, Taf. 101; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 123.

78 – van Berchem I (1922) 439f. Nr. 124f., Taf. 102; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 133; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 124f.; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 354f. Nr. 153 (mit Abb., bes. Abb. S. 355: Aufriß und Grundriß).

79 – van Berchem I (1922) 441f. Nr. 126f., Taf. 103/unten; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 134; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 126f.; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 356f. Nr. 154 (mit Abb., bes. Abb. S. 357: Aufriß und Grundriß).

80 – van Berchem I (1922) 442 Nr. 128; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 135; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 128; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 358 Nr. 155 (mit Abb.).

81 – van Berchem I (1922) 442f. Nr. 129; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 136; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 129; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 359 Nr. 156 (mit Abb.); vgl. auch die Beschreibung des Tores mit Inschriftvariante von Ewliyā Çelebī V, 151f., Parmaksızoğlu 224.

82 – Von dieser Stelle ist eine undatierte fragmentarische Bauinschrift des Sultans Sulaimān bekannt: van Berchem I (1922) 150f. Nr. 48, Taf. 90/Mitte, 91/oben; Jones (s. o. Anm. 45) 172; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 9 Nr. 48.

83 – Zum islamischen Wehrbau grundlegend K.A.C. Creswell, Fortification in Islam before A.D. 1250, in : Proceedings of the British Academy 38, 1952 (1954), 89 – 125.

84 – Karl Wulzinger – Carl Watzinger, Damaskus. Die islamische Stadt (1924) 182–187, Taf. 17c, 62; über die Stadtmauer von Damaskus ist eine Untersuchung von Paul E. Chevedden / Los Angeles in Vorbereitung.

85 – Herzfeld (s.o. Anm. 66) I/1 (1955) 13–76, Abb. 5 – 24, Taf. 5 – 23; Jean Sauvaget, L'enceinte primitive de la ville d'Alep, in : Mélanges de l'Institut Français de Damas 1, 1929, 133–159.

86 – z. B. am 920/1514 vollendeten Ḫān Ḫā'irbak: Jean Sauvaget, Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville d'Alep, in: Revue des Études Islamiques 5, 1931, 96 Nr. 59, Abb. 10/rechts oben; ders., Alep.

zwischen dem Sabīl Ṭarīq al-Wād und dem Sabīl Ṭarīq Bāb an-Nāẓir (s. u. Anm. 64); Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 410 Nr. 196 (mit Abb.).

62 – al-ᶜAsalī (1982) 117–124.

63 – van Berchem I (1922) 418, Taf. 96/oben; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 128; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 115; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 341 Nr. 146 (mit Abb.).

64 – van Berchem I (1922) 416f. Nr. 114, Taf. 95/rechts, 96/unten; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 127; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 12 Nr. 114; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 340 Nr. 145 (mit Abb.).

65 – Dazu Helmut Buschhausen, Die süditalienische Bauplastik im Königreich Jerusalem von König Wilhelm II. bis Kaiser Friedrich II. (1978).

66 – Der Schlüsselbau für den spätmamlukischen Aleppiner Dekorstil ist der 801/1399 gegründete Ǧāmiᶜ al-Uṭrūš; Ernst Herzfeld, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 2. Teil: Syrie du Nord. Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep I/2 (1956) 362–366, Abb. 113–115, Taf. 143a, 156b, 157–159.

67 – Asᶜad Ṭalas, al-Aṯār al-islāmīya wa t-tārīḫīya fī Ḥalab (1956) 256f. Nr. 181.

68 – Herzfeld (s. o. Anm. 66) 347–349, Taf. 150a–b.

69 – Zur aiyūbidischen Stadtmauer s. van Berchem I (1922) 131–136; II (1927) 23–31; neuerdings auch M. Sharon, The Ayyūbid walls of Jerusalem. A new inscription from the time of al-Muᶜaẓẓam ᶜĪsā, bei: Myriam Rosen-Ayalon (Hrsg.), Studies in Memory of Gaston Wiet (1977) 179–193, Taf. 11–13.

70 – van Berchem I (1922) 431–449, Abb. 69, Taf 97–103; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 209 Nr. 147; vgl. Solomon H. Steckoll, The gates of Jerusalem (1968). Ausführlich beschrieben auch von Ewliyā Çelebī V, 151 – 154; Parmaksızoğlu 224–226.

71 – van Berchem I (1922) 438 Nr. 120, Taf. 99/oben; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 130; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 120; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 344–346 Nr. 148 (mit Abb., bes. Abb. S. 346: Aufriß und Schnitt).

72 – van Berchem I (1922) 437 Nr. 119, Taf. 98/rechts, 99/unten; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 119.

73 – van Berchem I (1922) 438 Nr. 121, Taf. 98/links; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 131; Walls – Abul-Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 121; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 348–350 Nr. 150 (mit Abb., bes. Abb. S. 348: Aufriß).

74 – Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 347 Nr. 149 (mit Abb.).

98 – Kāmil Ǧamlī al-ᶜAsalī, Waṯā'iq muqaddasīya tāriḫiya I (1983) 125–144.

99 – al-ᶜAsalī (1983) 145–151; zu weiteren zugehörigen Firmānen und Dokumenten s. al-ᶜAsalī (1982) 31–38.

100 – Zu dieser vor 800/1398 errichteten weitläufigen Anlage: van Berchem I (1922) 307–312; Burgoyne 1971 (s.o. Anm. 90), 12–16, Abb. 7–10, Taf. 12–17; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 92; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 249–252 Nr. 98 (mit Abb.).

101 – Tuhfat al-miᶜmārīn, bei: Rıfkı Melûl Meriç, Mimar Sinan. Hayatı. eseri I: Mimar Sinan'ın hayatına, eserlerine dair metinler (1965) 25, Anm. 130: *ǧāmiᶜ šarīf*, *madrasa*, *ᶜimārat* in Quds; kennzeichnenderweise ist dieser Bau in den übrigen Werkverzeichnissen des Sinān nicht aufgeführt. Dagegen werden die von Ḫāṣṣekī Hürrem in Mekka und Medina gestifteten Pilgerhospize mehrfach dem Baumeister Sinān zugeschrieben (a. a. O. 37, 105).

102 – Meinecke (1976) 147; Hassan Abd al-Wahab Pacha, L'influence ottomane sur l'architecture musulmane en Egypte, in: Proceedings of the 22nd Congress of Orientalists II (1957) 646, Abb. 5f.

103 – Meinecke (1978) 579; Wulzinger–Watzinger (s. o. Anm. 84) 58f. Nr. B 3. 8, Taf. 25b.

104 – S.D. Goitein, al-Ḳuds – History, in: The Encyclopaedia of Islam–new edition V/83 – 84 (1980) 334.

105 – Die Wohnviertel der Stadt wurden von Ewliyā Çelebī (V, 156; Parmaksızoğlu 227) anläßlich seines Besuchs im Jahr 1082/1672 wie folgt beschrieben: « There are no buildings whatever around the fortress of Jerusalem, except for the suburb of David, which consists of forty houses. – Except the gardens, vineyards, and flower gardens, all building are within the fortress. All quarters are Moslem. There are altogether one thousand fortresslike lofty palaces. The buildings within this town are of masonry; there are no wooden constructions at all. Yet the doors are made of wood. The houses are covered with lime...».

106 – Dazu Meinecke (1976) und (1978). Zur osmanischen Architektur des 10./16. Jahrhunderts in Aleppo steht eine detaillierte Untersuchung noch aus. Dort dominieren jedoch bei dem 953/1546 vollendeten Moscheekomplex des Ḫusraw Pāšā, dem vor 963/1555–56 gegründeten Ǧāmiᶜ al-ᶜĀdilīya und der vor 991/1583–84 errichteten Moschee des Bahrām Pāšā eindeutig hochosmanische Architekturformen; s. vorerst Sauvaget (s.o. Anm. 86) 97 Nr. 63, 99 Nr. 65f., Abb. 10/rechts unten, 11/rechts, 12/links unten; Ṭalas (s.o. Anm. 67) 127 Nr. 63, 129f. Nr. 65f.; Goodwin (s. o. Anm. 23) 202f., 213 Abb. 191.

Essai sur développment d'une grand ville syrienne, des origines au milieu du XIXe siécle (1941) Taf. 23/oben liks, 24, 59/rechts, 65.

87 – z. B. am 917/1511 erbauten Ḫān al-Ḫalīlī: Max van Berchem, Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum, 1. Teil: Égypte I/3 (1900) 595f. Nr. 406–408; Louis Hautecoeur – Gaston Wiet, Les mosquées du Caire (1932) Taf. 219, 220/rechts.

88 – Demnach ist auch die von Arthur Stratton (Sinan [1972] 104) versuchte Interpretation der Stadtmauer als Frühwerk des osmanischen Hofarchitekten Sinān wenig stichhaltig.

89 – s. o. Anm. 40.

90 – van Berchem I (1922) 430 Nr. 117; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 138; Michael H. Burgoyne, Some Mameluke doorways in the Old City of Jerusalem, in: Levant 3, 1971, 23–26 Nr. 9, Abb. 18f., Taf. 19b; Walls – Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 117; al-ᶜAsalī (1981) 324–327, Abb. S. 324, 326; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 350–362 Nr. 157, Abb. S. 364, 365.

91 – van Berchem I (1922) 431 Nr. 118; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 139; Walls - Abul–Hajj (1980) 13 Nr. 118; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 363 Nr. 158, Abb. S. 360, 363. Eine Bauaufnahme dieses wichtigen Baukomplexes liegt bislang noch nicht publiziert vor.

92 – Dazu Michael Meinecke, Mamluk architecture. Regional architectural traditions: evolution and interrelations, in: Damaszener Mitteilungen 2, 1985, 166.

93 – Meinecke (1976) 150f.

94 – Meinecke (1978) 579f., Abb. 4f.

95 – In Kairo sind vergleichbare Muqarnaṣ–Überleitungen zum Beispiel am zentralen Grabbau der 931/1524–25 vollendeten Takīyat al-Ġulšānī oder am 951/1544–45 datierten Mausoleum des Amīrs Sulaimān belegt; Meinecke (1978) 151, Abb. 8f.

96 – Zum Bau: Burgoyne 1971 (s. o. Annm. 90), 17–20 Nr. 7, Abb. 13–15, Taf. 16b; Burgoyne (1976) Nr. 140; al-ᶜAsalī (1982) 9–38, Abb. S. 10f., 13; Kunūz al-Quds (1983) 364–366 Nr. 159. Auch von diesem Pilgerkomplex liegt keine Bauaufnahme vor.

97 – St. H. Stephan, An endowment deed of Khâṣṣeki Sulṭân, dated the 24th May 1552, in: Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine 10, 1942, 170–194, Taf. 36–40. Die angekündigte Arbeit von Oded Peri (The Waqf as an instrument to increase and consolidate political power. The case of Khasseki Sultan Waqf in Jerusalem) konnte in diesem Zusammenhang nicht ausgewertet werden.

28 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Bāb Sittī Maryam – Torraum

29 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Bāb al-Ḫalīl – Ansicht von Westen

30 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Bāb an-Nabī Dāwūd – Südseite

31 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Burǧ al-Qibrīt – Südostseite

32 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Bāb al-Maġāriba – Südseite

33 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Stadtmauer: Südteil der Westmauer

34 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Ḥaram: östliche Außenmauer mit dem Goldenen Tor (al-Bāb aḏ-Ḏahabī)

35 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Ribāṭ al-Amīr Bairām Ǧāwīš – Nordfassade

36 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Ribāṭ al-Amīr Bairām Ǧāwīš – Innenraum über Nordeingang (Foto K.A.C. Creswell – Jerusalem III/77; mit freundlicher Genehmigung des Ashmolean Museum, Department of Oriental Art/Oxford)

37 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Takīya Ḫāṣṣekī Sulṭān – Nordportal neben der Dār as-Sitt Tunšuq

38 – al-Quds/Jerusalem, Takīya Ḫāṣṣekī Sulṭān – Nische des Nordportals

Abbildungen

Äthiopier und Syrer in Palästina in byzantinischer und frühislamischer Zeit

von Ernst Axel Knauf, Heidelberg

I

Als der anonyme Pilger aus Piacenza um 570 Palästina und auch das St. Katharinen-Kloster auf der Sinaihalbinsel besuchte[1], stellte er mit Bewunderung fest, daß dessen Äbte die lateinische, griechische, syrische, ägyptische (= koptische) und "bessische" Sprache beherrschten. Beim "Bessischem" kann es sich um nichts anderes handeln als *lisān al-ḥabaši*, also Abessinisch bzw. Äthiopisch: Das Althocharabische war im 6. Jh.n. Chr. noch nicht die Sprache einer geschriebenen Literatur[2]. Diese Bezeichnung des Äthiopischen muß allerdings, durch die Vermittlung des Syrischen möglicherweise, aus dem Arabischen nach Palästina gekommen sein. Denn im Altsüdarabischen heißen die Äthiopier *ḥbšn* oder *ʔḥbšn*[3], im Arabischen entsprechend *al-ḥabaš*, *al-aḥbāš*, während die Selbstbezeichnung des Altäthiopischen lasanä gaʿaz lautet. Die griechischen Quellen nennen die Abessinier archaisierend "Aithiopier" oder "Inder", die syrischen "Kuschiten".

"Bessisch" zu können, hatte man im Kloster der hl. Katharina allen Grund, denn der Sinai wurde im 6. Jh. auch von äthiopischen Pilgern besucht, wie äthiopische Mönche seit Justin I. am Hl. Grabe in Jerusalem präsent waren[4]. Auch in einer ganzen Reihe anderer Klöster Palästinas, selbst Knostantinopels, lebten damals "Besser", die gewiß nichts mehr mit dem längst verschollenen thessalischen Völkchen gleichen Namens zutun hatten[5]

War es im Wesentlichen der Handelskontakt mit Byzanz und der Mittelmeerwelt, der sich vornehmlich über Syrien-Palästina abspielte, der im 4. Jh. zur Einfuhrung des Christentums in Äthiopien gefuhrt hatte[6], so war in Antiochien bereits um 390 die Existenz einer athiopischen Bibelübersetzung bekannt[7]. Anfang des 6. Jh. intensivierten sich die äthiopisch-byzantinischen Kontakte infolge der politischen Ereignisse in Südarabien: das macht die verstarkte Präsenz athiopischer Mönche in Palästina verständlich.

Dort war der letzte Herrscher der sabäo-hymarischen Reiches, *Yūsuf Asʿar Yatʔar*, der *Ḏū Nwās* der arabischen Tradition, zum Judentum übergetreten und begann im Bündnis mit dem sasanidischen Persien die südarabischen Christen grausam zu verfolgen, in denen er natürliche Bundesgenossen der Äthiopier sehen mußte, die seit langem schon die Herrschaft

ger " eine Mehrzahl repräsentiert. Dieser ist weiter durch eine Kopfbedeckung gekennzeichnet, die unter Vergleich mit der Schraffur der Obergewänder und des Zelttuches nur als Textil verstanden werden kann, augenscheinlich also eine Art Kaffiye ist.

Ebenso eindeutig wie die rechte der beiden Figuren ein arabischer Beduine ist, handelt es sich bei der linken um einen Mönch. In der linken Hand halt er ein Kreuz. Der Stoff seines Gewandes besteht erkennbar aus weniger grobem Gewebe als die ᶜAbāye des Beduinen. Was er auf dem Kopf trägt, laßt sich wegen einer Beschädigung des Steines nicht mehr sagen; eine Keffiye ist es jedenfalls nicht.

Dargestellt ist auf diesem Felsbild also die Ankunft der syrischen Mönche bei den südpalastinensischen Beduinen und die gegenseitige Begrüßung. Wir haben wahrscheinlich ein Stück nonverbaler Kommunikation vor uns. Denn wie sollten sich Syrer und Araber anfänglich miteinander verständigen ? Selbst wenn die Mönche aus ihrer Heimat die Beherrschung des einen oder anderen arabischen Dialekts mitgebracht hätten, ist damit zu rechnen, daß dieser sich erheblich vom loökalen Dialekt der hiesigen Beduinen unterschied. Aktive Kenntnis der durch die vorislamische Pœsie und dem Koran überhaupt erst konstituierten arabischen Hochsprache ist in der 2. Hälfte des 7. Jahrhunderts bei beiden Gruppen eher unwahrscheinlich.

Dem syrischen Kloster auf der Ḫirbet el-Mšāšist kein langes Leben beschieden gewesen. Wie die anderen Siedlungen in der Wüste Sudpalästinas wurde es wohl noch in der ersten Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts aufgegeben. Die fast völlige Abwesenheit von Münzen[15] sowie von Skeletten im Versturz deutet darauf hin, daß es vor seiner Zerstörung verlassen wurde[16]. Die Aufgabe der in byzantinischer Zeit landwirtschaftlich genutzen Wüstengebiete Süd- und Ostpalästinas, spätestens mit dem Ende der omayyadischen Herrschaft, ist zu verstehen als Folge eines allgemeinen Bevölkerungrückganges infolge von Epidemien[17], eines Rückgangs der landwirtschaftlich tätigen Bevölkerung durch die Konversion zum Islam, mit der zumeist Abwanderung der Apostaten in die neugegründeten islamischen Herrschafts- und Verwaltungszentren einherging, wodurch sie nicht nur dem sozialen Druck ihrer althen Gemeinschaft,[18] sondern zugleich der Kopf- und Grundsteuer entgingen, und schließlich der " Abwanderung " des Hofes von Syrien nach dem Iraq, womit ein Absatzmarkt für die lokale landwirtschaftliche Produktion zusammenbrach. So gab die bäuerliche Bevolkerung die Randgebiete auf und zog sich in die Kerngebiete zurück. Wo aber kein Mensch mehr wohnte und kein Pilger mehr des Weges zog, mochten die syrischen Mönche von der Ḫirbet wohl auch nicht länger Kloster und Herberge betreiben.

über Südarabien beanspruchten u d dort militärisch präsent waren. Nach einem fehlgeschlagenen ersten Versuch griffen ihn 525 die Äthiopier erneut und mit Unterstützung der byzantinischen Flotte an und nahmen ihm Reich und Leben.[8] Auch in der Folgezeit kam es zu einem häufigeren Gesandtenaustausch zwischen Äthiopien und Byzanz, hofften die Oströmer doch, hier ihren sasanidischen Feind in der Flanke packen zu können[9]. Diese Hoffnung erwies sich als trügerisch : noch unter Chosrau I. wurde der Jemen persische Provinz. Das axumitische Reich löste sich auf, und es hat Jahrhunderte gedauert, bis wieder Äthiopier nach Palästina kamen.

II

Der Anwesenheit äthiopischer Mönche in Palästina im 6. Jh. kam das staatliche Interesse an wirtschaftlicher und militärischer Zusammenarbeit mit ihrem Mutterland zugute. Abweichlerische und mißliebige relig. Gruppen hatten jedoch unter den Vorzeichen des byzantinischen Staatskirchentums keine Möglichkeit zur Entfaltung. Konnten sich die monophysitischen Syrer noch des Protektorats der ghassanidischen Phylarchen erfreuen und einiger Mitglieder des Kaiserhofes, so war eine Niederlassung von diophysitischen Nestorianern innerhalb des oströmischen Reiches schlechterdings unmöglich. Das änderte sich mit der islamischen Eroberung, wodurch alle christlichen Konfessionen einander gleichgestellt wurden und noch im 7. Jh. grundeten nestorianische Mönche ein Kloster auf der Ḫirbet al-Mšāš 15 km ostlich von Bir as-Saba[c 10].

Die Gründung selbst scheint sich in einem a-literarischen Dokument niedergeschlagen zu haben, über dessen Charakter der Ausgraber schon weitgehend zutreffende Vermutungen angestellt hat[11], dessen dessen Interpretation sich aber vertiefen läßt[12].

Es handelt sich um ein Felsbild, das später im Kloster verbaut wurde und offensichtlich nicht as aufbewahrungswürdiges Kunstwerk galt, sondern einer spezifischen Kommunikationssituation bei dessen Gründung entstammt und mit deren Ende seinen Zweck erfüllt, seinen Sinn verloren hat. Die Zeichnung zeigt auf der linken Seite und in etwas kleinerem Maßstab einen Palmbaum[13], ein Zelt - noch vom Type des Rundzeltes[14] - und einen Reiter, wodurch die Szene als "Wuste", genauer: als Wadi in der Wüste, hinreichend gekennzeichnet ist, wie schon der Erstbearbeiter zutreffend erkannt hat. Durch ihre Größe als "Vordergrund" charakterisiert, nimmt die rechte Seite der Zeichnung zwei menschliche Gestalten ein. Beide haben die Arme grüßend erhoben.

Die rechte figur schwenkt in der linken Hand eine Lanze. Eine Anzahl mehr oder weniger senkrechter Striche hinter beiden Figuren könnte als "Lanzenwald" gemeint sein, d.h. als Andeutung, daß der "Lanzenschwin-

12 – In der Zeichnung 151 Abb 21 sind einige interpretationsrelevante Merkmale ausgelassen oder mißverstanden, die auf dem Foto Tf. 115 deutlich zu erkennen sind (danach die eigene Zeichnung Abb. 1, die auf Accessoires wie die Palme kein Gewicht legt).

13 – vgl. das safaitische Felsbild bei E. Littmann, Safaitic Inscriptions (Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904 – 1905 and 1909 IV C; Leiden 1943), 288 Nr. 1295 = A. Jamme; Journal of the American Society 91 (1971), 137.

14 – Vgl. die beiden Zelte im oberen Register der rechten Seitenwand des Empfangsraumes von Quser ʿAmra (kurz nach 711 erbaut), cf. M. Almagro- L. Caballero-J. Zozaya-A. Almagro, Qusayr Amra Residenca y banos omeyas en el desierto de Jordania (Madrid 1975), Tf. IIIB (linkes Zelt); Tf. ××Vb (rechte Zeltgruppe). Die Zentralpfeiler sind hier mit Halbmonden geschmuckt, die Fahnen gehören nicht zu den Zelten.

15 – Cf. Fritz, Ergebnisse, 157 Anm. 28.

16 – Damit ist gesagt, daß ich mich nicht der Interpretation des Grabungsbefundes durch P. Maiberger, Ergebnisse, 185 anschließen kann, dessen Darstellung der historischen Ereignisse im 7. und 8. Jh. überhaupt zu Verwunderung Analß gibt. Nach ihm waren "die arabischen Eroberer außerstande..., diese Kultur (der byzantinischen Limitanei, E.A.K.) weiterzuführen", müssen "die Lebensbedingungen in den Städten dse Negeb (Ende des 7. Jh. E.A.K.) unerträglich geworden sein. Die Gründe dafür waren die fortschreitende Arabisierung, die zu immer höheren und unverschämten Steuern führte... " (beide Zitate S. 184) – wobei Maiberger übersieht, daß bereits die byzantinischen limitani Araber waren, wie ihre Personennamen zeigen, und daß es lange dauern sollte, bis die Araber die byzantinische Meisterschaft im Steuererheben erreichen würden. Wer das verlassene Kloster schließlich zerstört hat-Beduinen oder den Nestroianern mißgunstige chalkedonensische oder monophysitische Nachbarn - wissen wir nicht.

17 – Cf. M.W. Dols, Plague in Early Islamic History, Journal of the American Oriental Society 94 (1974), 371 – 383; L. Conrad, The Plague in the Early Medieval Neer East (Diss. phil. princeton 1981).

18 – Cf. R. W. Bulliet, Conversion to Islam in the Medieval period. An Essay in Quantitative History (Cambridge) Mass. 1979), 36; 81.

Anmerkungen

1 – Antioni placentini itinerarium, ed. p. Geyer, Jtiuera Hicrcolymita a saeculi IIII – VIII (Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiastic Latinorum 39; Prag etc. 1898), 157–218; und Kommentar H. Donner, pilgerfahrt ins Heilige land (Stuttgart 1979), 240 – 314.

2 – " In quo monasterio sunt tres abbates scientes linguas, hoc est latinam, grecam, syram et aegypticam et bessam. " c. 37 (213 Geyer), dazu Donner Pilgerfahrt, 300 m. Anm. 171.

3 – Cf. W. W. Müller, Abessinier und ihre Namen und Titel in vorslakchen südarabischen Texten, Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphi 3 (1978), 159 – 168, 159f. Im Amharischen ist *ḥabāšā*, *abasā* arabisches Lehnwort, wie der Sibilant zeigt (Gᶜz *ḥabāš*).

4 – Cf. E. Puech, Une inscription éthiopienne ancienne au Sinai (Wadi Hajjaj), Revue Biblique (1980), 597 – 601.

5 – Cf. K. Holl, Gesammlete Aufsfätze II, 241 f.

6 – Cf. A. Bartnicki-J. Mantel-Niecko, Geschichte Äthiopiens (1971); dt. Berlin (1978), I, 6 – 9.

7 – Cf. H.F. Fuhs, die athiopische Ubersetzung des Henoch, Biblische Notizen : 8 (1979), 36 – 56 50 m Anm. 86.

8 – Prokop von Casarea, Hypèr ton polénôn I 19f; A. Moberg, The book of the himyaritios (Acta REg. societatis humaniorumlitterarum Lundensis VII; Land 1924); J. Ryckmanns, La persécution des chrétiens himyaritis au sixième siècle (Publication de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul 1; Istanbul 1959); I. Shahîd, The Matyrs of Najrân. New Documents (Subsidia hagiographica 49; Brussel 1971); M. W. Müller, Zwei weitere Bruchstucke der Athiopischen Inschrift aus Marib, Neue Ephemeris fur Semitische Epigraphik I (1972), 59 – 74; ders., Oriens Christinaus 58 (1974), 179 – 190.

9 – Vgl. die Chronik des Johannes Malalas (ed. Dindorf), 456 – 459.

10 – Cf. V. Fritz-P. Maiberger, Das nestorianische Kloster (Areal D), in: V. Fritz-A. Kempinski, Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen auf der Ḫirbet el-Mšāš 1972 – 1975 (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina - Vereins, Wiesbaden 1983), I, 138 – 185; ebd. 15 weitere nestorianische Gründungen in Palästina in frühislamischer Zeit.

11 – V. Fritz, Ergebnisse, 148 – 151; Der Situationsbezug der Zeichnung eines Schiffes (149 Abb. 20; Tf 115) liegt auf der Hand, cf. Fritz, 150.

Figures

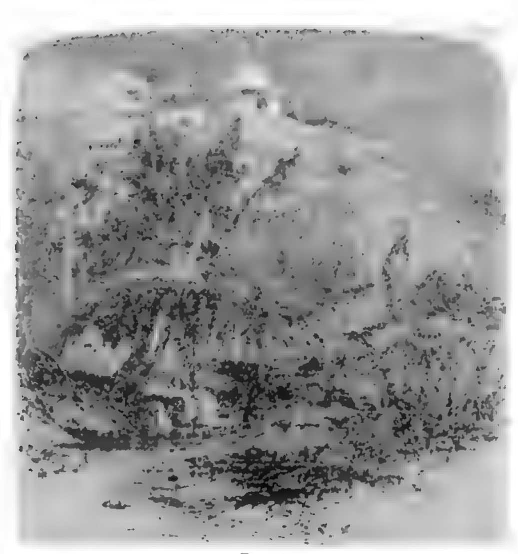


Fig · 1

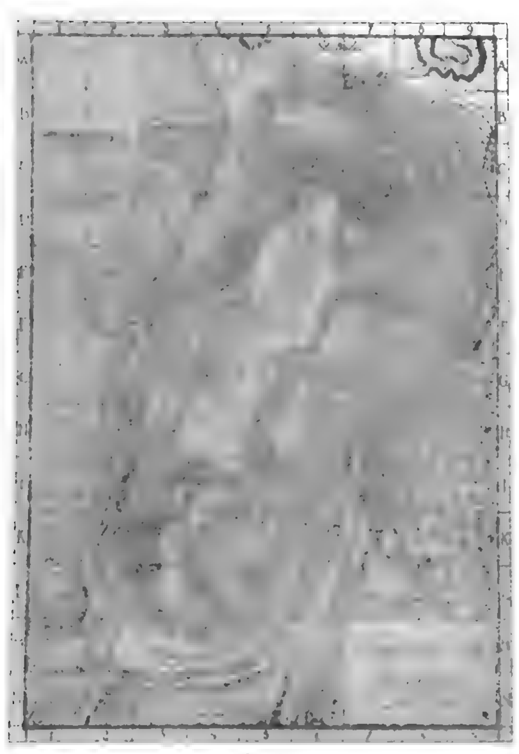


Fig. 2

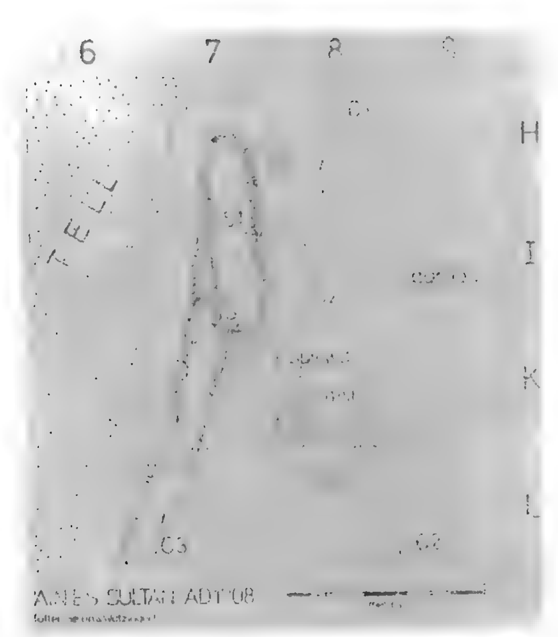


Fig. 3

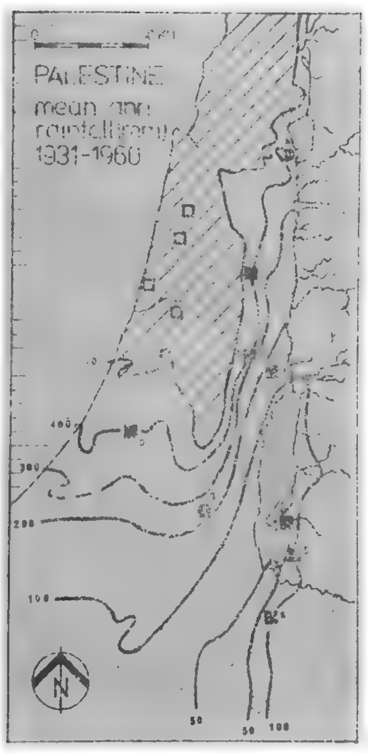


Fig. : 4

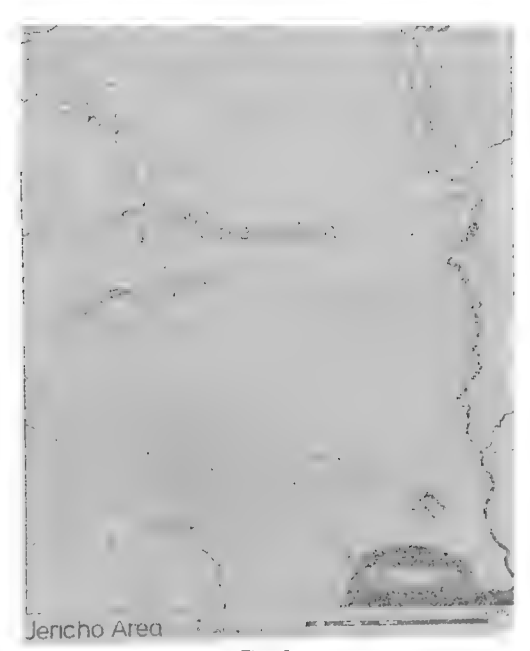


Fig. : 5

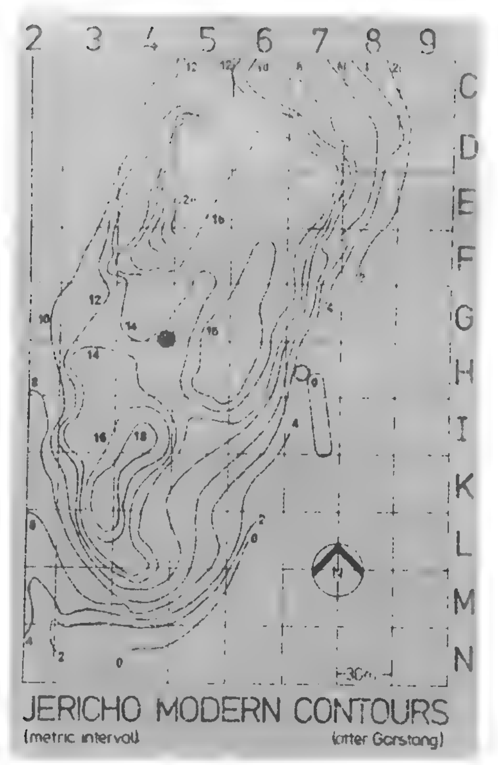

2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
M
N
12
10
14
14
16
16
18
4
2
0
30m
JERICHO MODERN CONTOURS
(metric interval)
(after Garstang)

Fig. 6

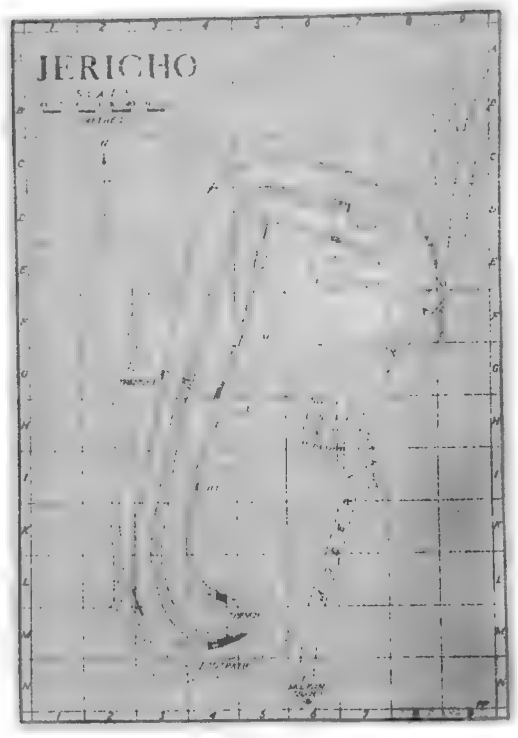


Fig : 7



Fig : 8

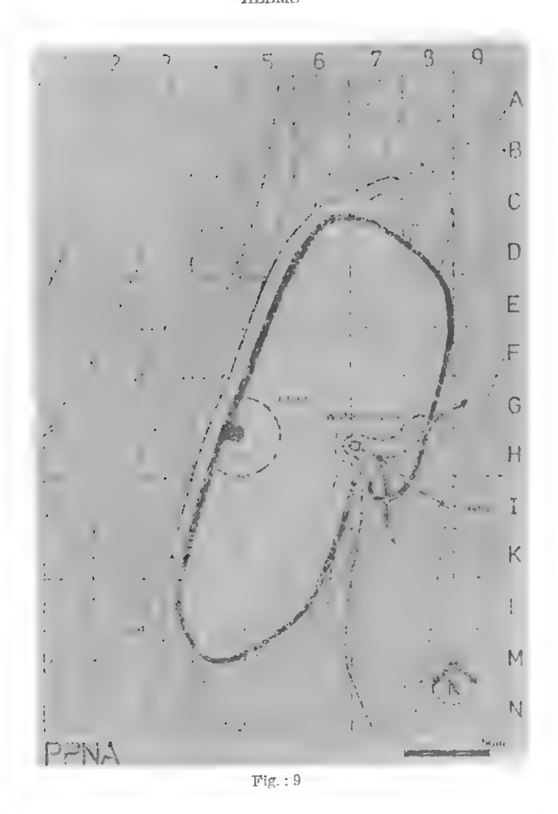


Fig. : 9

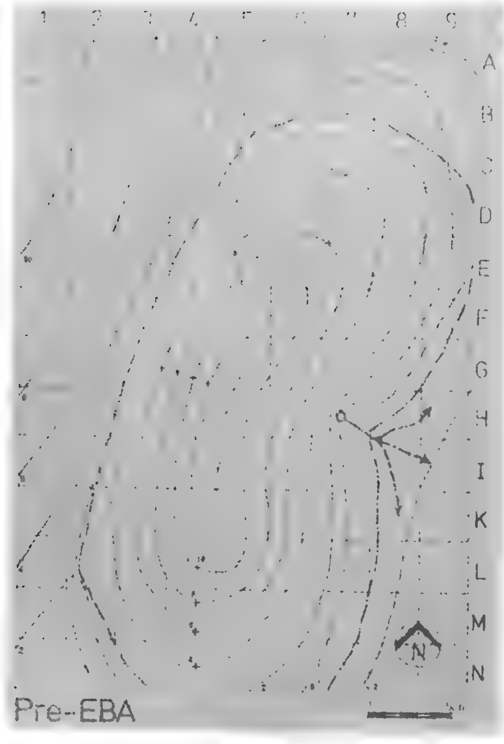


Fig. 10

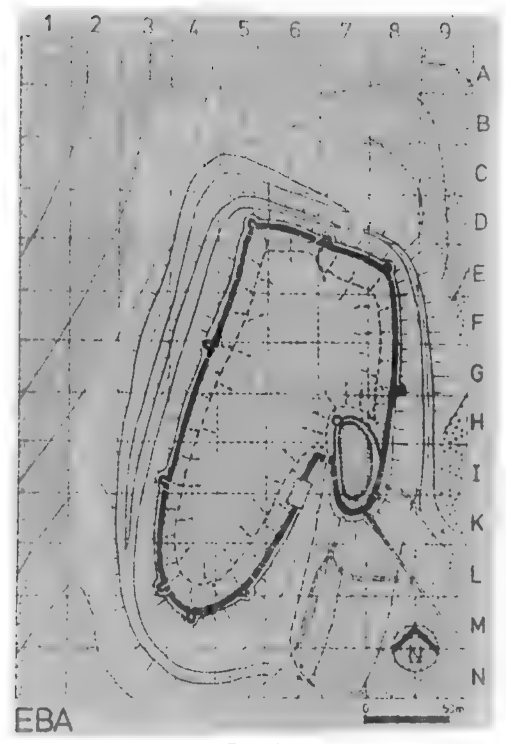


Fig. 11



Fig. 12

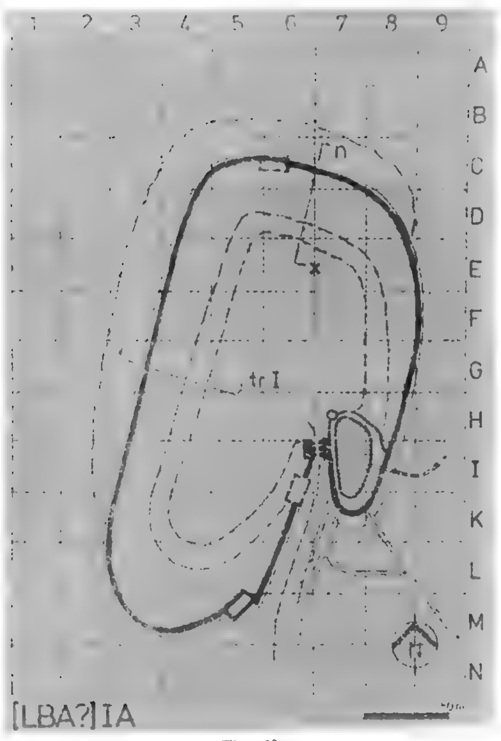


Fig. : 13



Fig. : 14

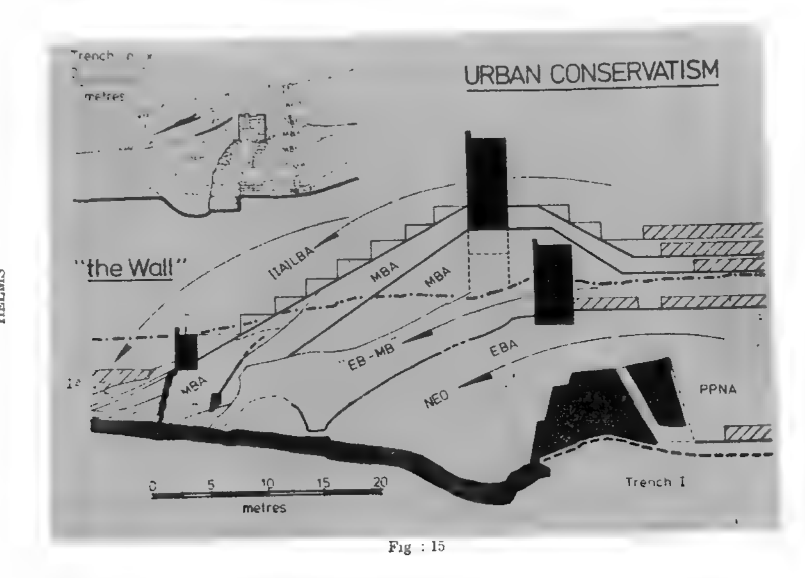

URBAN CONSERVATISM
Trench
metres
"the Wall"
[IA]LBA
MBA
MBA
MBA
"EB-MB"
EBA
NEO
PPNA
Trench I
0
5
10
15
20
metres

Fig : 15

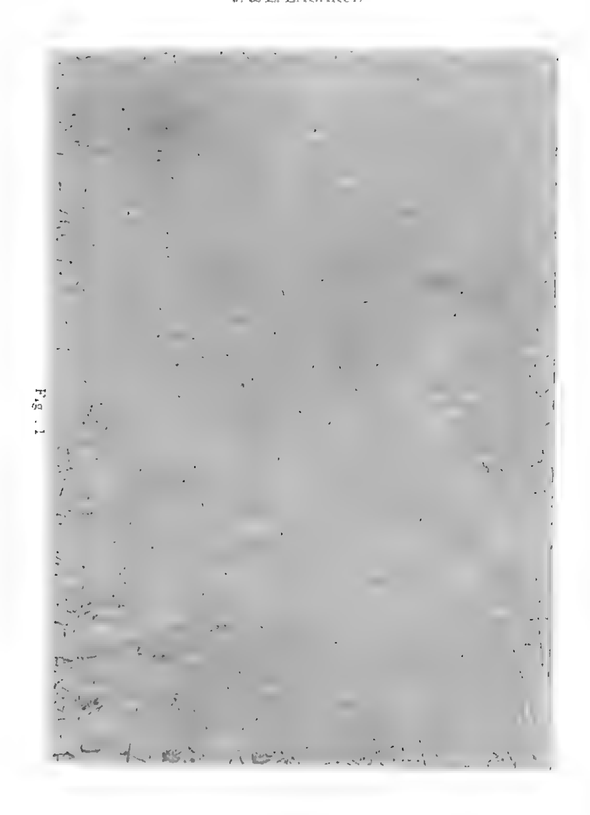
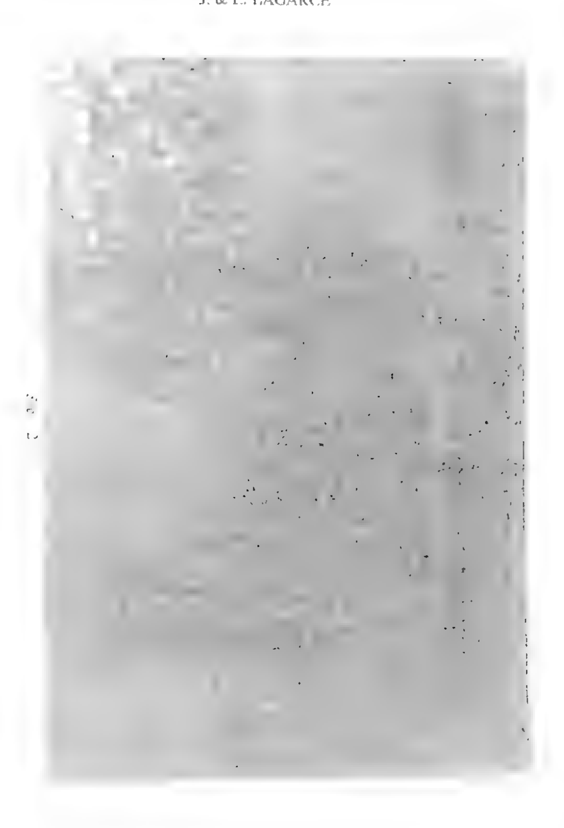


Fig. 1



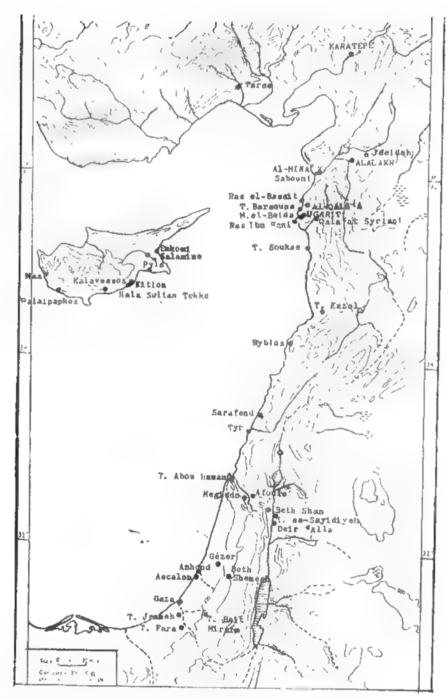

KARATEPE
Tarse
Jdeidah
ALALAKH
Al-MINA
Sabouni
Ras el-Bassit
T. Barsouse
UGARIT
Qalafat Syriani
T. Soukas
Kalavassos
Kition
Hala Sultan Tekke
Palaipaphos
Pyla
T. Kazel
Byblos
Sarafend
Tyr
T. Abou hawam
Megiddo
Beth Shan
Deir Alla
Gézer
Ashdod
Ascalon
Beth
Shemesh
Gaza
T. Fara
Mirsim

Fig. : 3

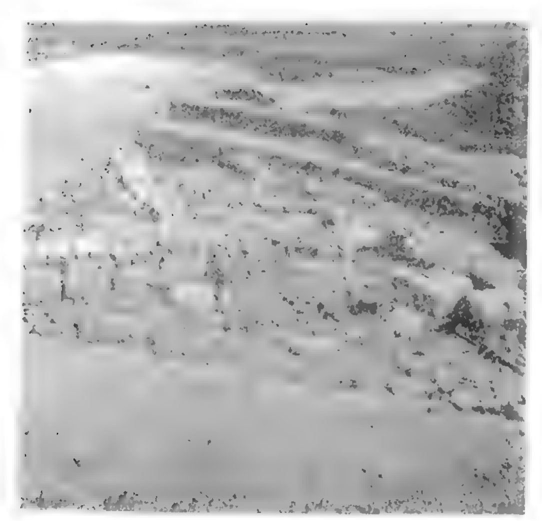


Fig. : 4

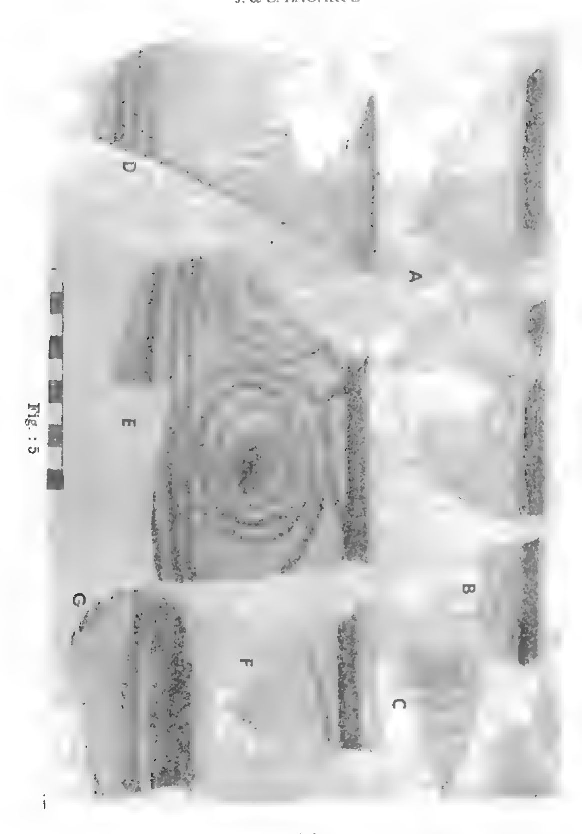


Fig. : 5



Fig. - 6



Fig. : 7

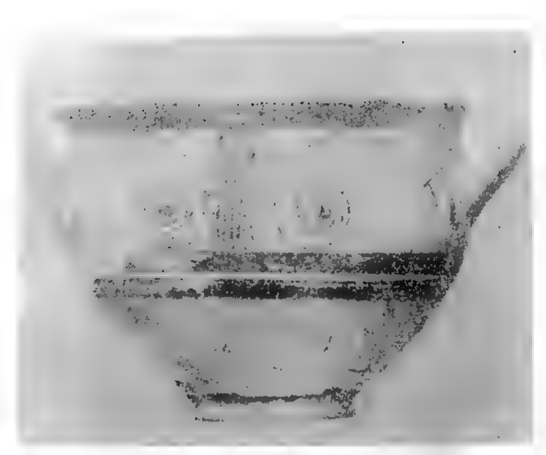


Fig. : 8



Fig. : 9



Fig. : 10



Fig : 11

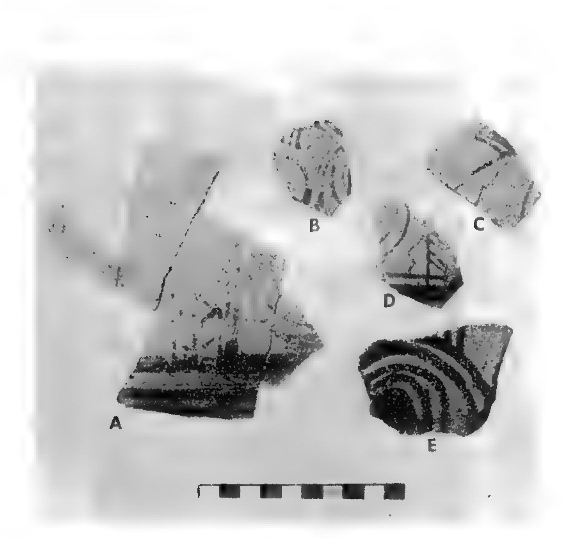


Fig. : 12



Fig. : 13

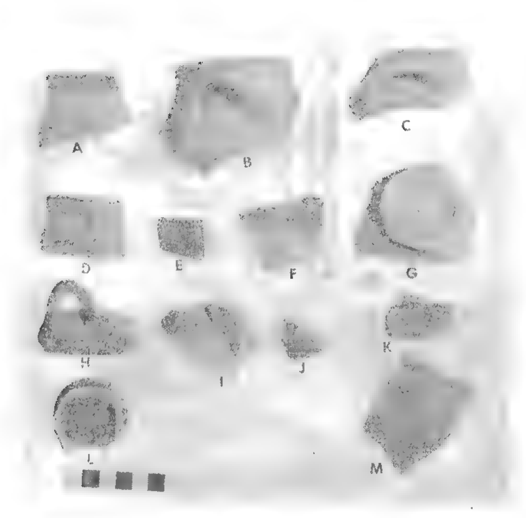


Fig. : 14

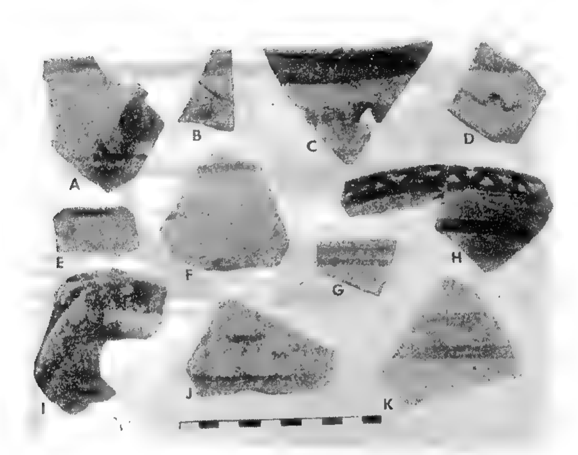


Fig. : 15

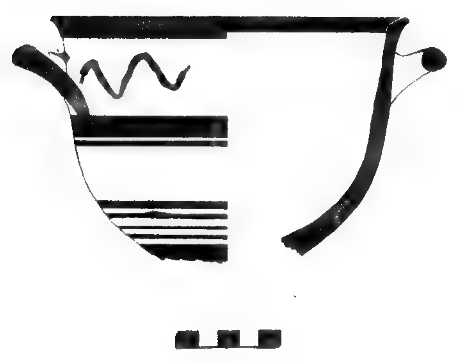


Fig. : 16

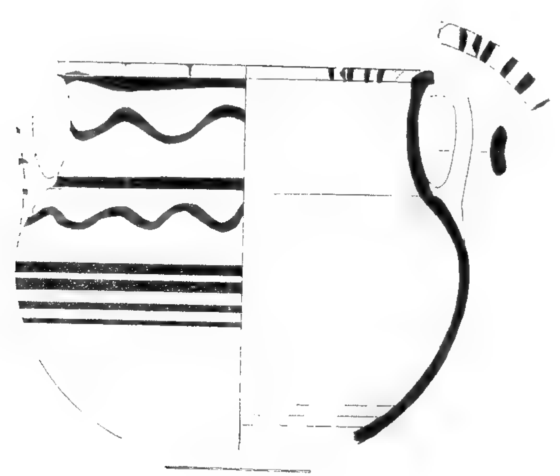


Fig. : 17

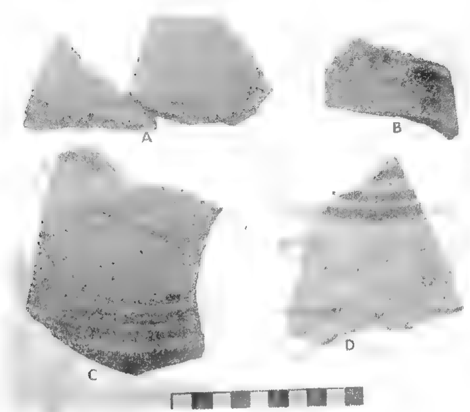


Fig. : 18



Fig. : 19

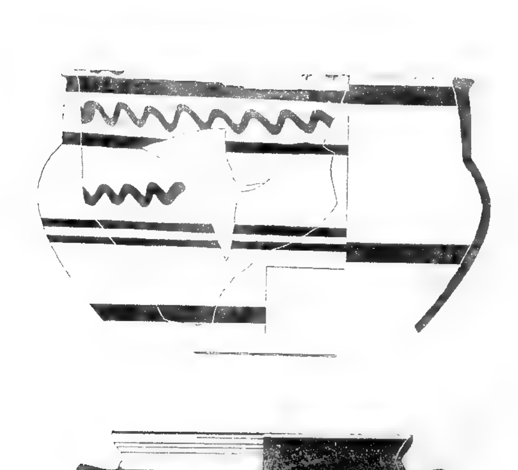


Fig. : 20

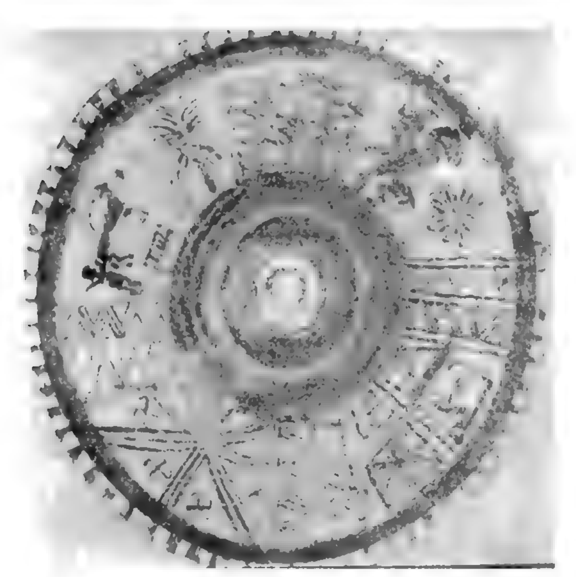


Fig : 21

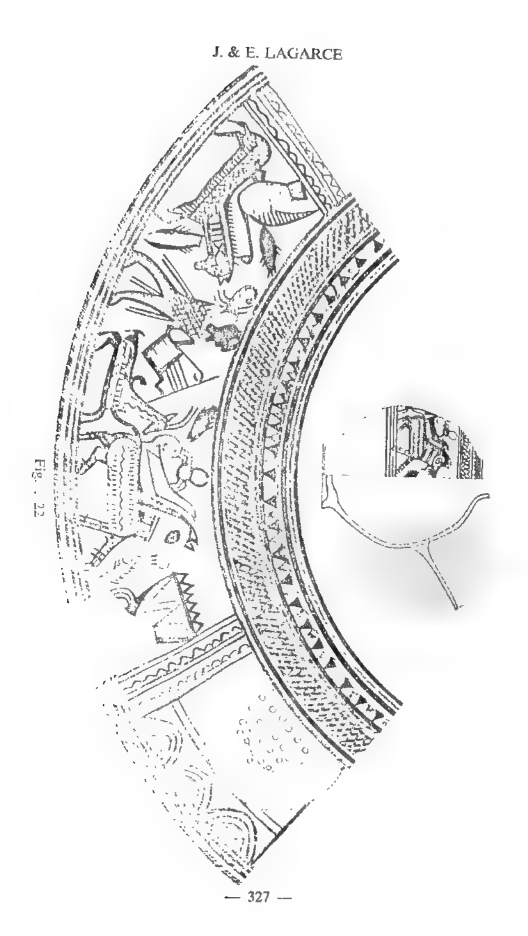


Fig. 22

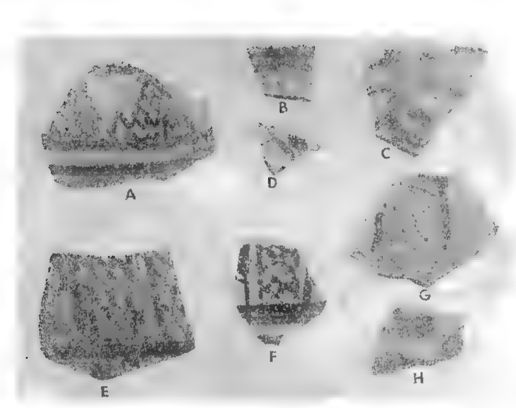


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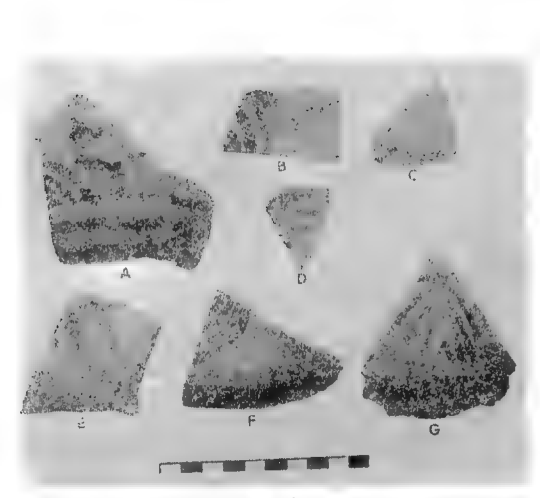


Fig. : 24

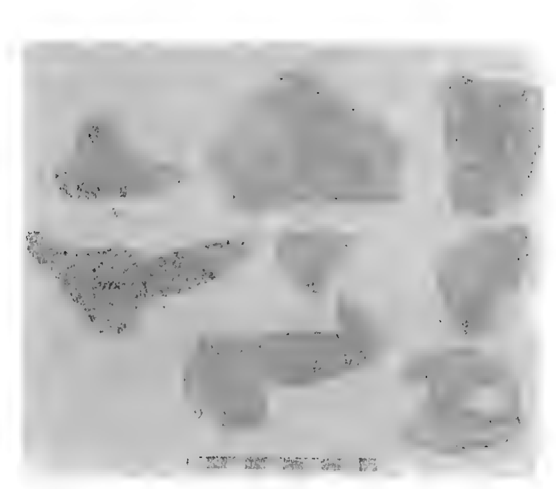


Fig : 25

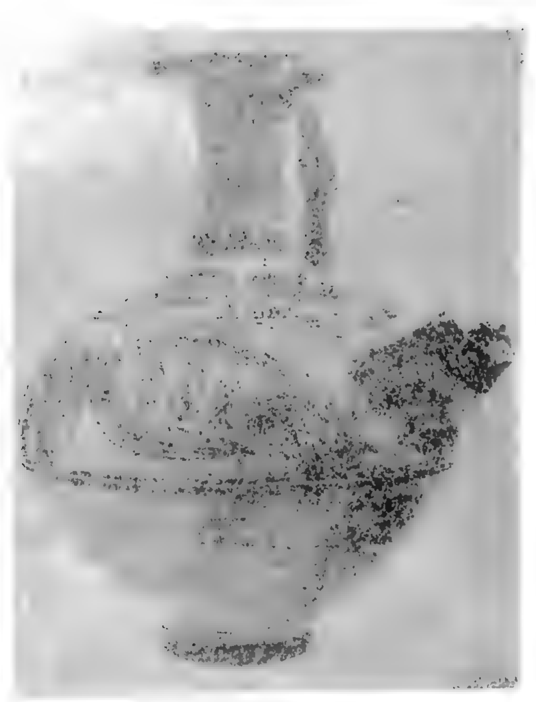


Fig. . 26



Fig. : 27

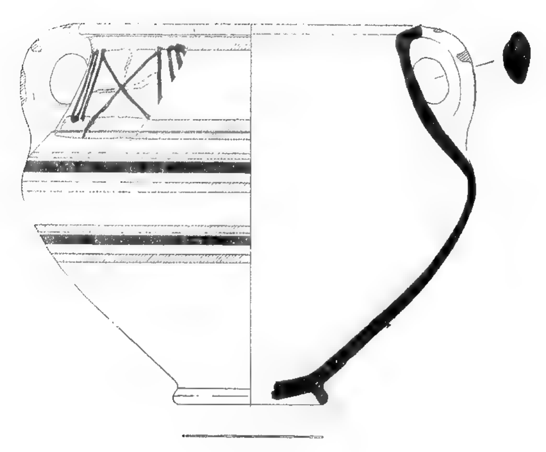


Fig. : 28

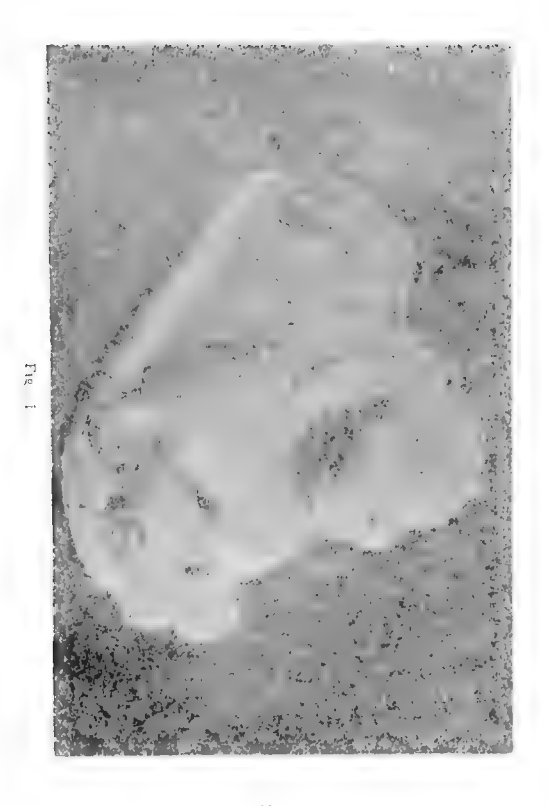
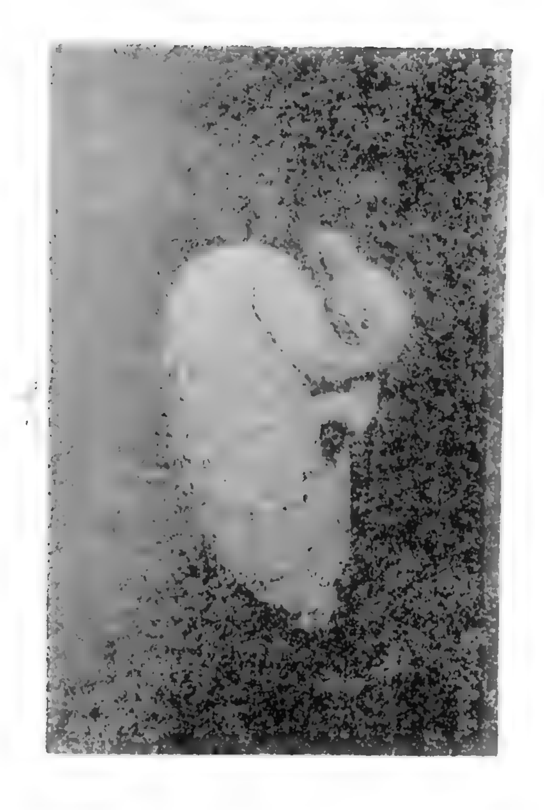


Fig. 1



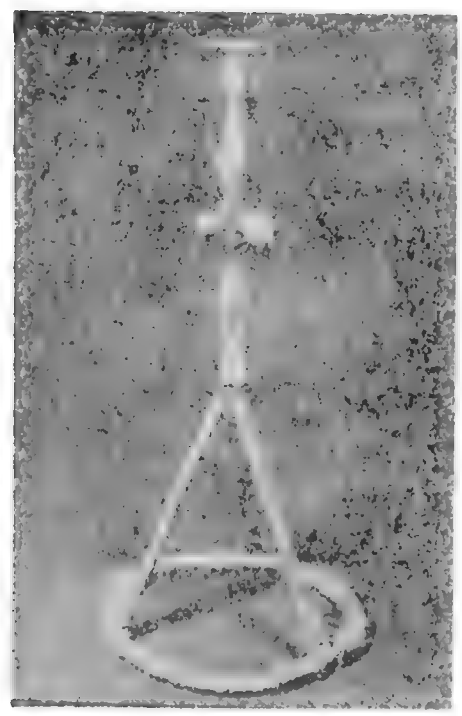
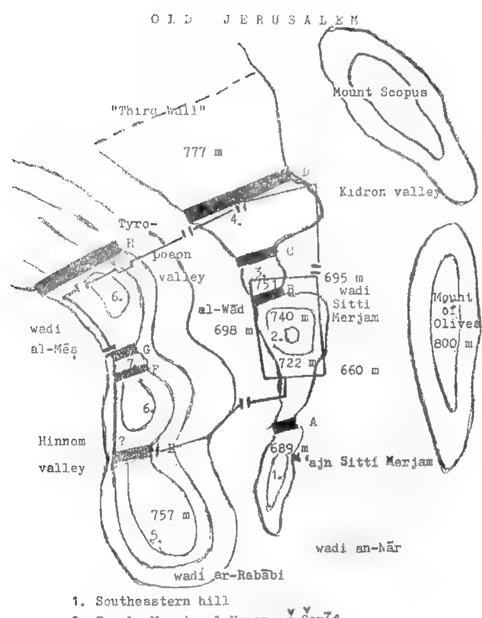


Fig. : 3

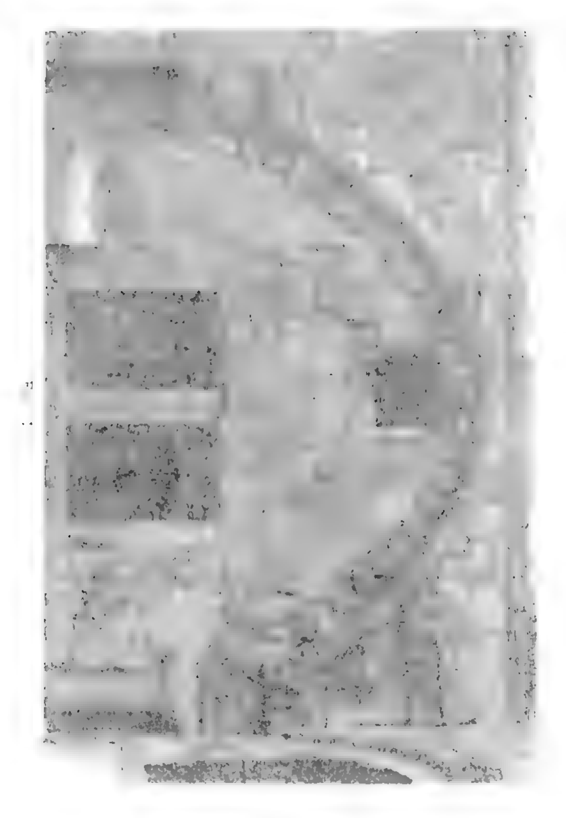


1. Southeastern hill
2. Temple Mount, al-Ḥaram aš-Šarīf
3. Antonia hill
4. Bezetha hill
5. Southwestern hill
6. Western hill
7. The Citadel

Moats A-H

0 500 m

Fig. : 1



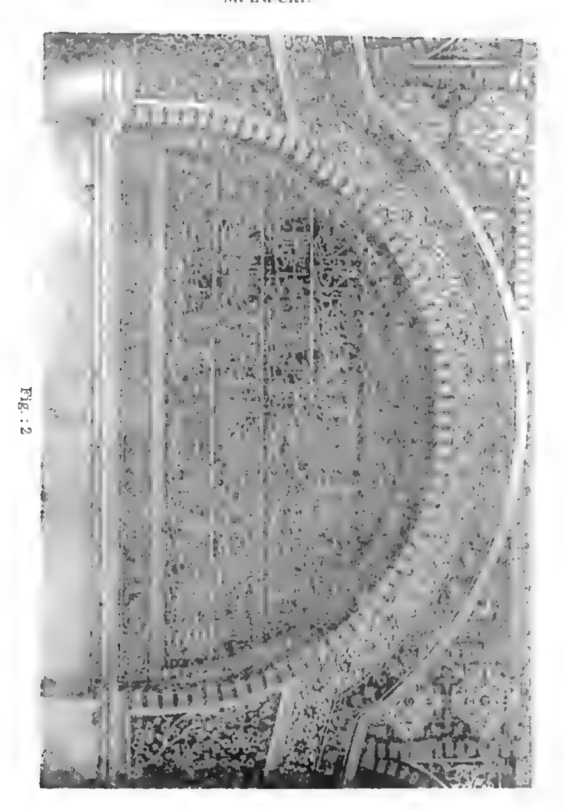


Fig. : 2



Fig. 3



Fig. : 4



Fig. : 5



Fig 6



Fig : 7

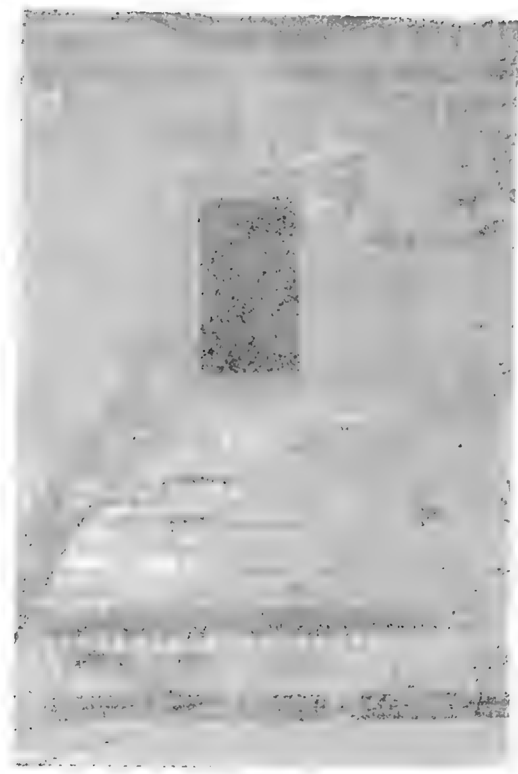


Fig. : 8



Fig. : 9



Fig. : 10

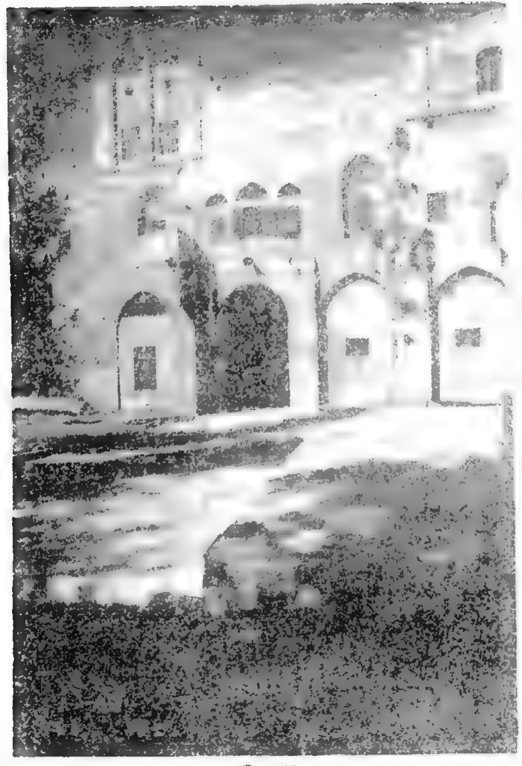


Fig. : 11

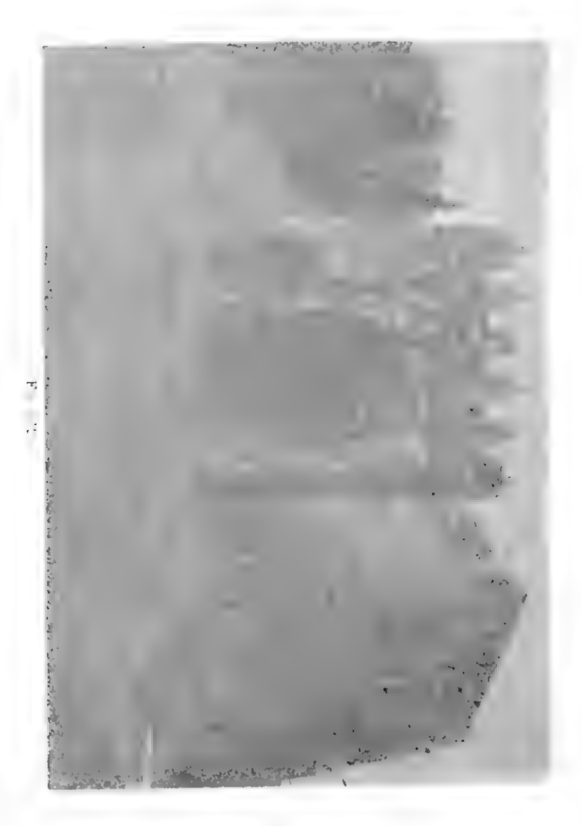




Fig. 13



Fig. : 14

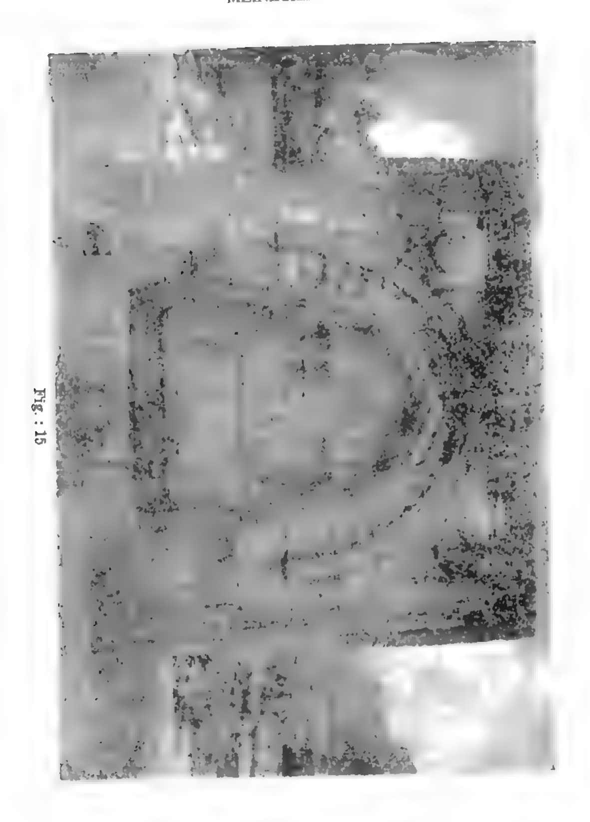


Fig. : 15



Fig. : 16



Fig. : 17



Fig. : 18



Fig. : 19

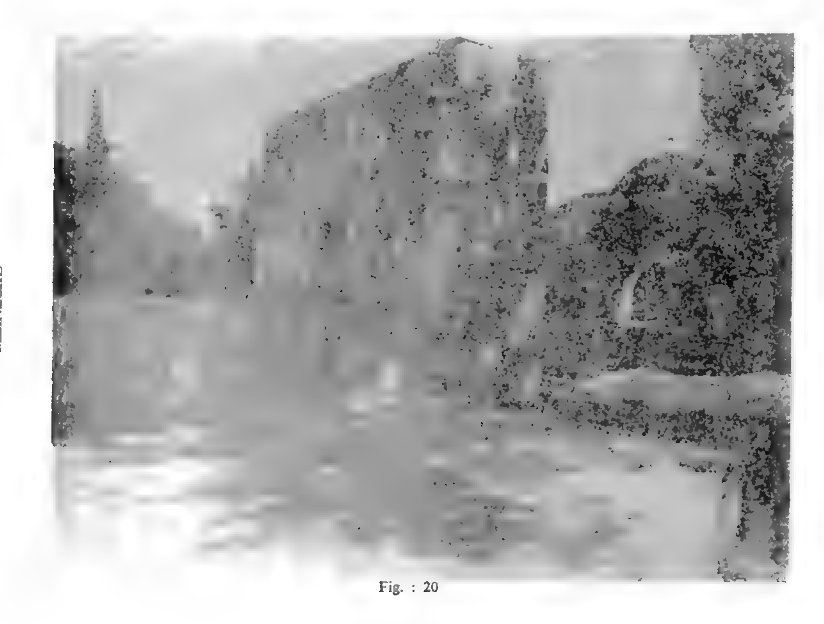


Fig. : 20



Fig. : 21



Fig. : 22



Fig. : 23

وفي النفوس والتي لايمكن لاحد أن يستطيع اقتلاعها مهما طال الزمن ، واننا نأمل أن نظل قادرين ، كل في مجاله ، على تقديم كل ما يساعد على تخليص الثقافة العربية من العناصر الدخيلة .

لا أريد هنا ان أصف المصاعب التي واجهتنا في انجاز هذا الكتاب،ولكن مادمنا نشعر أن هذا واجب علينا نؤديه خدمة لقضيتنا ، التي هي قضية العرب المركزية ، غير طامحين لكسب مادي أو مطلب أخر ، فإننا نشعر براحة كبيرة .

وفي ختام هذه المقدمة القصيرة لابد لي من تقديم الشكر لاهله فالشكر كل الشكر للاستاذ الدكتور محي الدين صابر المدير العام للمنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم وإلى الاستاذ الدكتور محمد علي حورية رئيس جامعة حلب الذي كان يشجعنا باستمرار على انجاز هذا الكتاب محاولاً تذليل كل عقبة ، ولا يغيب عن البال المعاونة التي بذلها الاستاذ ابراهيم محمد مدير المطبعة وسائر عمال مطبعة الجامعة الذين تعاونت معهم فكانوا خير عون لي وفقنا الله جميعاً في خدمة قضايا امتنا العربية الثقافية وسدد خطاها نحو العزة والمجد .

المحـــرر
الدكتور شوقي شعث
مدير مركز الآثار الفلسطيني
أستاذ الآثار وتاريخ الحضارة في جامعة حلب

حلب ١٨ رمضان ١٤٠٨ هـ
الموافق ٤ / ٥ / ١٩٨٨ م

كلمة المحرر

وبعد هذا هو المجلد الثالث من سلسلة « **دراسات في تاريخ وآثار فلسطين** » الذي يضم آخر الأبحاث التي وصلت الينا من ابحاث الندوة العالمية الأولى للآثار الفلسطينية التي عقدت في رحاب جامعة حلب عام ١٩٨٢ ، وبهذا نكون قد نشرنا جميع الأبحاث التي قرأها أصحابها وتلك التي لم يتمكنوا من قراءتها ، فيما عدا بحثين فقط : بذل المحرر جهداً كبيراً من أجل الحصول عليهما عبر الاتصالات الشخصية إلا أنه لم ينجح .

بهذا ، تكون المنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم وجامعة حلب ومركز الآثار الفلسطيني قد قطعت شوطاً كبيراً في دعمها للتراث الحضاري بفلسطين ،ذلك الدعم الذي نتمنى أن يستمر ؛ ويكون مركز الآثار الفلسطيني قد حقق بعضاً من مهامه التي أنشىء من أجلها، وما أكثرها، وإن بدت قليلة في أعين من لايدركون أخطار التشويه والاستلاب الصهيوني للتراث الفلسطيني ، ذلك التشويه الذي بدأته الصهيونية منذ قرابة القرن من الزمن والذي حاولت زرعه وترسيخه في اذهان الشعوب الأوروبية والامريكية وغيرها في وقت لم يكن هناك أي مركز أو مؤسسة بالبلاد العربيـة تتصدى لتلك المحاولات ،فالقول أننا بدأنا نتلمس الأخطار ليس معناه أننا قضينا على تلك الأخطار . إن العرب في بداية الطريق وهم سائرون رغم ما يداخل البعض من شعور أن ذلك السير هو سير السلحفاة ، فالمهم أن نحافظ على طبيعة وماهية ذلك السير ونعمل على تسريعه للوصول إلى الهدف المنشود وإن تأخر ذلك بعض الوقت .

إن الصراع مع العدو الصهيوني وإن بدا في شكله صراعاً عسكرياً إلا أنه في جوهـره صراع حضاري ، صراع بين ثقافتين ثقافـة اصيلة راسخة الجـذور وهي الثقافة العربية وثقافة مستورة دخيلة ، ومما يؤكد رسوخ الثقافة العربية في الأرض المحتلة هو مايجري اليوم فبالرغم من أن الدولة الصهيونية سعت منذ عام ١٩٤٧ إلى اجتثاث كل ما يربط الفلسطيني بثقافته وأرضه إلا أنها فشلت ؛ فانتفاضة الأهـل بفلسطين المحتلة كلها ، ماكانت إلا لأن الثقافة العربية راسخة الجذور عمقاً في الأرض

الإهداء

الى المناضلين من اجل الحرية . . . من اجل الوطن والهوية .

الى ابطـــال الحجـــارة .

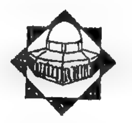
الى الشعب العربي الفلسطيني في فلسطين المحتلة .

الى الشعب العربي الســـوري في الجـــولان .

اليهم جميعـــاً تحيـــة اعـــزاز واكبـــار .

المنظمة العربية للتربية والثقافة والعلوم

جامعة حلب مركز الآثار الفلسطيني



دراسات في تاريخ وآثار فلسطين

وقائع الندوة العالمية الأولى للآثار الفلسطينية

المجلد الثالث

اشرف على التحرير والطباعة الدكتور شوقي شعث

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